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ABSTRACT

This collection of symposium papers on varieties of the English language used in Ireland includes: "The Role of Irish English in the Formation of Colonial Englishes," by P. Trudgill; "Anglo-Irish Verse in Translation from Irish," by P. L. Henry; "The Methodology of Urban Language Studies," by J. Milroy; "Questions and Answers: An Analysis of the Discourse Structure of Interviews," by L. Milroy; "Sociolinguistic Patterning in a New World Dialect of Hiberno-English: The Speech of St. John's, Newfoundland," by S. Clarke; "Hiberno-English and White West Indian English: The Historical Link," by J. P. Williams; "Word Stress in Hiberno-English," by Diarmuid O Se; "The Equative Sentence in Hiberno-English: Another Area of Interference from Irish?" by M. Filppula; "Hiberno-English: A Parametric Approach," by E. Guilfoyle; "The Co-Occurrence of 'Do' and 'Be' in Hiberno-English," by J. L. Kallen; "Still at It: Irish/English Interaction Today," by B. N. Shuilleabhain; "English Interrogation, Inversion and 'Do'-Support," by M. E. Vincent; "Syntactic Variation in the Speech of Belfast Schoolchildren," by C. Finlay and M. McTear; "The Lexicon in Phonological Variation," by J. Harris; "Differing Prestige Values for the (ky) Variable in Lurgan," by A. H. Pitts; "Friel's 'Translations': Hiberno-English and Existential Trauma," by P. Burke; "Phatic Communion in Flann O'Brien's 'The Third Policeman'," by P. Simpson; "Verbal Planning and Narrative Structure: The Belfast Narrative," by T. Vogel; "The Brogue: Language as Political Culture," by M. J. Croghan; and "English in Ireland: An Attitudinal Study," by P. A. Killian. (MSE)

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Perspectives on the English language in Ireland

Proceedings of the First Symposium on Hiberno-English held at Trinity College Dublin 16-17 September 1985

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FOREWORD

These days, perhaps more than ever before, there is widespread interest among linguists in varieties of English which differ markedly from the much better-documented standard language. Among the varieties which have come under increasing scrutiny are those used in Ireland. The First Symposium on Hiberno-English, the proceedings of which are reported in this volume, was organized with a view to drawing together the various strands of recent research in this area. Although a number of locally-based Hiberno-English colloquia have been held in Ireland over the years, this was the first symposium on the subject to have been arranged expressly with an international audience in mind. Our intuition that the time was ripe for an event of this kind is confirmed by the range of papers presented here and by the fact that participants were attracted not only from Ireland but also from Britain, the European continent and North America.

This volume includes the keynote paper by Peter Trudgill, invited papers by Leo Henry, James Milroy and Lesley Milroy, and sixteen section papers covering the following topics: Hiberno-English and the New World, phonology, syntactic theory and language contact, sociolinguistic variation, language attitudes, stylistics, and discourse analysis.

We thank all the authors whose work appears here for their co-operation. Our gratitude is also due to the following bodies for their generous financial and material support: An Bord Bainne, Irish Distillers, the Association of Teachers of English, Basil Blackwell Ltd, Cambridge University Press, Longman Group Ltd, and the Bank of Ireland.

John Harris
David Little
David Singleton

December 1985

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KEYNOTE PAPER

Peter Trudgill
University of Reading

THE ROLE OF IRISH ENGLISH IN THE FORMATION OF COLONIAL ENGLISHES

The role of Irish English in the formation of a few colonial varieties of English - notably those of Newfoundland (see Story et al., 1982) and the Ottawa Valley, Canada (see Chambers, 1975; Pringle, 1981) - is well known and widely accepted, as is its influence in the Caribbean creoles (see this volume). It has been usual, on the other hand, to discount the influence of bilingual or monolingual speakers of Irish English in the formation of the colonial Englishes generally, especially the southern hemisphere varieties, including Australian English (see Turner, 1966). The fact is, however, that very large numbers of people indeed were sent, directly or indirectly, from Ireland to Australia, and for many decades they provided a sizeable proportion of the population there. Investigations of a number of dialect-mixture and new-dialect formation situations (see Trudgill, 1986) suggest that even minority groups tend to have some influence on newly-emerging mixed dialects. This is particularly the case if the linguistic features involved are of a type (e.g. unmarked phonological features) that are likely to survive the process of koinéisation, i.e. mixing, levelling and simplification. We cannot assume, of course, that, just because Irish English was present in Australia, it necessarily had any role in the new-dialect formation. But there is a strong prima facie case for arguing, that, if the demographic and linguistic factors were right, some influences from Irish English will have been felt, and that we should therefore attempt to seek them out. This is particularly so since there is also a clear case for arguing for the role of Irish English in the formation of at least certain varieties of American English. For example, the well-known usage of positive anymore in Midland dialects of American English, as in He sleeps a lot anymore, which is unknown in Britain, is found in some forms of Irish English (see J. Milroy, 1981); and the non-British usage of bring and take, as in Bring it with you when you go, is also common in some American dialects (pace Preston, 1984, who argues for a German origin of this feature).

In fact, the evidence that Irish English played a role in the formation of Australian English, if perhaps a small one, is rather strong - and firm evidence at the grammatical level gives us confidence about some of our more speculative suggestions at the phonological level

where, apparently (see Trudgill, 1986), minority varieties have less chance of influencing a mixed dialect. Evidence at the level of grammar includes the following:

1) The presence in non-standard Australian English of the second-person plural pronoun *youse*. This is very common indeed in Ireland, and for many speakers it is absolutely categorical (see L. Milroy, 1980). It is, on the other hand, unknown in most of England, and is almost entirely confined there to Liverpool, where Irish influence has been very heavy. In Scotland it is most common in Glasgow, for the same reason. It is also widespread in the English of Canada and the USA.

2) The grammatical construction exemplified in *Come here till I kiss you* (meaning '...so that I can kiss you') is not known or even understood (see Trudgill, 1982) in England except, again, in Liverpool. It is not part of standard Australian English, but it is well-known to many Australians as a non-standard form. It is very usual in many forms of Irish English and in the West Highlands of Scotland, and, as this geographical distribution suggests, is a calque on Gaelic.

3) Adverbial, sentence-final *but*, as in *I don't want it but*, is well-known in colloquial Australian English. In the British Isles, its distribution is confined to Ireland and parts of Scotland and Tyneside (where heavy Irish immigration can be used as an explanation for its presence).

4) The northern Irish usage of *whenever* to refer to a single occasion, as in *Whenever I was born, my parents were very poor*, is known to some Australians and especially to New Zealanders.

5) The usage in colloquial Australian English of e.g. *It is so* as a denial, as in:

(a) It's time to go.
(b) It isn't!
(a) It is so.

(cf. American English *It Is too*) contrasts with English English, where the majority form is simply *It is*. It is identical, however, with the usage in many parts of Ireland.

6) Perhaps the most convincing grammatical evidence for the influence of Irish English is the following. In Australian English, a very frequent negative form of epistemic *must* is *must not/mustn't*. Very many Australians would say, for instance: *He mustn't have seen me - he didn't stop*. This form is unknown in standard English English and in the vast majority of regions of England,

where the usual negtive form of epistemic must is can't (see Quirk et al., 1972), as in He can't have seen me. The one exception in England is in the north-west, around Liverpool, where mustn't is also usual. This in itself, of course, points quite clearly to an input into Australian English from somewhere other than the south-east of England. More particularly, however, negative epistemic mustn't is also the usual form in almost all varieties of Irish English (hence its presence in Liverpool). This is especially clear evidence for the role of Irish English in the development of Australian English, since an origin in England for this feature is obviously out of the question. Note, too, that in many epistemic usages, American English favours unreduced must not over can't (see Trudgill and Hannah, 1985; Tottie, 1985), mustn't being impossible in epistemic forms.

As far as pronunciation is concerned, we note the following important points:

1) Although most south-east of England accents have unstressed /I/ in items such as naked, Australian English has /ə/. It is therefore of some considerable significance that Irish English normally has /ə/ in this lexical set. As Wells (1982: 427) points out, in Irish English "abbot and rabbit rhyme perfectly, both with one another, and, usually, with grab it, all /-æbət/". Compare this to Wells'(1982: 602) description of Australian English where, equally, "pack it is...homophonous with packet, both /pækət/".

2) Australian English does not have preglottalisation or glottaling of word-final /p/, /t/, /k/. This distinguishes it sharply from London English, where glottalisation (see Wells 1982: 324) is the norm. The absence of this feature in Australia may well be due to its being a late 19th-century innovation in London. It may also be, however, that the Australian tendency actually to release word-final /p,t,k/, often together with some aspiration, is due to the influence of certain British Isles varieties. Accents which release and/or aspirate word-final voiceless plosives, without glottalisation, are found today in the West Midlands of England, Wales, Liverpool, and Ireland. In Liverpool, indeed, word-final /p,t,k/ may actually be [p̪,t̪,x], where [t̪] is, according to Wells, an ungrooved tongue-tip fricative distinct from [s]. Wells also points out (1982: 372) that "this frication of plosives has its parallel in the [t̪] of Irish English", and, as we have seen, Liverpool English does undoubtedly owe much of its distinctiveness to heavy Irish immigration. (On Irish [t̪], see further Hickey, 1984.) Australian English does not, of course, have actual frication, but, especially in the speech of women, the aspiration of

word-final /p,t,k/ represents a striking difference from most English and Scottish variants. (As far as the influence of Scottish English in the formation of southern hemisphere varieties is concerned, we can note the presence in Australian English of Scottish vocabulary such as whinge 'whine', bisom 'bad child', skite 'hit', billy 'can' (see Baker, 1966) and jink 'play truant'. We can note, further, the presence in New Zealand English of constructions such as Will I turn on the light?, rather than Shall I..., which is unknown in England but normal in Scotland. And some phonological characteristics of New Zealand English can be ascribed to both Irish and Scottish influence, such as the strong tendency to preserve [ʍ] in which etc.; the presence of rhotic accents in the southern part of South Island; and the realisation of /I/ with a Scottish-type central vowel [ə].)

We can argue, then, that Australian (with probably also New Zealand and South African) English, although undoubtedly predominantly south-east of England in character, and although having undergone independent linguistic changes, is a mixed dialect which grew up in Australia out of the interaction of south-eastern English forms with Irish, Scottish and other dialects. This is the point of view espoused by Blair (1975), who writes that his evidence suggests that "the amalgamation of British dialects as a basis for Australian pronunciation was completed in the colonies rather than in London". The evidence he has is taken from an examination of early printed materials up to 1855. Dixon (1822), for example, talks in connection with Australia of "the amalgamation of such various dialects assembled together ", while Gerstaecker (1853) writes that "the broad Irish brogue and the London cockney dialect seemed to strike me everywhere". No doubt further investigations of colonial varieties of English will turn up additional linguistic features which have their origins wholly or partly in Irish English and thus, perhaps, in at least some cases, in Irish itself.

Note

I would like to acknowledge with gratitude the help I have had in preparing this paper from Janet Fletcher, Jean Hannah, Sharon Millar, Jim Milroy, Lesley Milroy, and participants in the Symposium.

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INVITED PAPERS

P. L. Henry
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ANGLO-IRISH VERSE IN TRANSLATION FROM IRISH

One of the conferences which I have most enjoyed in recent years was the AISAIL meeting on Anglo-Irish literature in Belfast this year. It was not too exacting an event: it did not agonize about what its real subject might or might not be. So, for instance, its representative speakers appeared to find their focal point in 18th and 19th century Britain with Burke and Coleridge and Wordsworth and Carlyle and Tennyson, although the creative work which makes Anglo-Irish literature worth talking about as something special, in Synge and Yeats and Stephens, Gregory, Joyce, O'Casey and Kavanagh ..., was fired by the Irish acquisition of a new speech during the 19th century and by a new vision of the past and the future on this particular island. And just as this aspect of the matter remained unaccountably muted, so also one heard accounts of the Gaelic sources of Anglo-Irish literature which rested upon a curious kind of ritualistic game - as if there were no Irish or Celtic Philology whose business it is to assure the stablishing of right views on safe sources. Hence for one scholar the Old Irish Deirdre could become a Sheila-na-Gig and a demonic figure - much as the great missionary Colum Cille became the demon Kólmkilli in Icelandic folk tradition. I have little doubt that the pattern for such cavalier treatment of native sources was laid down centuries ago in a context of war, colonization and disparagement and that the pillaging of an esoteric antiquity for the construction of private mythologies nearer to our own day is an inherited attitude. Scholars have forgotten that until the shards filched have been restored to their organic places they cannot be understood.

The object or objective which in Belfast was called Anglo-Irish is here in Dublin called Hiberno-English. This, I am sure, is done in all innocence, for who will advocate or approve the splitting of a language from its literature? What we are aiming at here is the English of Ireland, and until the matter of terminology is cleared up, just such a circumlocution will best serve the subject, as for instance in the title of the Thomas Davis lecture series, <u>The English Language in Ireland</u>,[1] deliberately chosen to avoid error. As I have written elsewhere:

> The name Anglo-Irish for the English language and literature of Ireland had no serious rival until the 1960s. The introduction at this time of Hiberno-English for the language <u>alone</u> appears

> due on the one hand to a vague feeling that English should appear more centrally in the title of the linguistic discipline and on the other to the strategic interests of University Departments of English which might welcome a clearer brief for their labours ... In my own efforts to solve the disorder so created I have been unable to elicit either dissenting opinion or conformable usage. My argument is as follows: the introduction of Hiberno-English as a global term for the language is unnecessary since Anglo-Irish has hitherto served unambiguously for the language as for the literature. The term Anglo-Irish points to the creation in modern rural Ireland of a new language based upon Irish or Gaelic and absorbing linguistic resources chiefly lexical from outlying forms of English; that is to say, a mixed language mainly Irish in syntax and phonology with an appreciable and increasing English vocabulary and accidence. Yeats, Synge, Lady Gregory and the others found here a ready vehicle for a literature which in correspondence with the language has an essentially Irish character though modified and eked out by English. A ready specimen of it is found in the colloquial language of Patrick Kavanagh's The Green Fool.[2] Kavanagh compares the people of his own South-East Monaghan parish to those of Gaelic-speaking Connemara (p.309): "They spoke Gaelic and yet I felt that the English-speaking peasants of my own country were nearer to the old Gaelic tradition". He himself was approached as a historic poet might have been, to work a satire on an aggrieved man's neighbours (p.327): "I want ye to make a ballad on them, a good, strong, poisonous ballad" he was told. The making of an áer or satire in such circumstance was part of the function of the Irish professional fili or poet.

In his Preface to his Synge and the Irish Language[3] (p.x, 1978), Declan Kiberd tells us that:

> "The term 'Anglo-Irish' has been used for decades to describe the particular brand of English spoken in rural Ireland, under the historic influence of the Irish language. The strict linguistic term for this idiom, is, of course, 'Hiberno-English', since the basic language in question is English, conditioned by the Irish substratum".

This sounds reasonable but is in fact specious. The speech produced in the mouths of Gaelic speakers mainly in the course of the 19th century was a third language beside Irish and English, a new weave with mixed linguistic categories. These categories in Phonology and

Syntax were mainly from Irish, in Vocabulary, Inflection and Semantics from both Irish and English. Page 20 of An Anglo-Irish Dialect of North Roscommon[4] (1959) presents this conclusion: "There is no room for doubt that the phonological system of our dialect is in all essentials that of the Irish dialect it displaced".

It was scandalous, indeed, that the child should take after its mother rather than its father. Victorian England set its educational Procrustes to wean the new speech to more approved ways. Actually, one must presume that this new language, this Anglo-Irish could have been as readily modified to a regional Irish as to a regional English of Ireland.

Hence Anglo-Irish refers to a language in its own right formed mainly on the linguistic categories of Irish but modified and eked out by English: Anglicized Irish, Anglo-Irish. In this sense the term is linguistically exact and irreproachable.

When we think of the English ingredient which combines with the Irish ingredient to form Anglo-Irish, we are thinking of Hiberno-English, that is, the English of colonists from Britain, maintained by them in Ireland and modified in an Irish context: English somewhat hibernicized: Hiberno-English. From the point of view of this variety, and to the extent to which it can be identified as such, it seems possible to think in terms of what is called Interference, an astonishingly blunt concept, by the way, for the ebb and flow of two linguistic systems, two cultures, two civilisations towards and around each other. But it must follow from the definition that to speak of interference by Irish in Anglo-Irish is nonsense, since Anglo-Irish is by definition a growth upon an Irish stock which spread its tentacles into English soil. Some speakers were trapped here: using only the term Hiberno-English, they referred it to the Western dialects of Irish English and still spoke of interference. This is why the terminology is important.

A factor to be borne in mind is the chronological one: Anglo-Irish is a variable through time and its relation to Hiberno-English varies similarly. One can also speak of the fusion of Anglo-Irish with Hiberno-English. Anyone interested in such matters will have studied at least the North Roscommon book and the article Anglo-Irish and its Irish Background.[5]

I now turn to Modern Anglo-Irish verse from the Gaelic or Irish. This topic is dominated by James Mac Pherson's Ossian[6] of 1762-63 offering his own

Modern English version of the purported ancient Scots Gaelic epic poems Fingal and Temora and several others. But the specimen of the original of Temora which he offers is Modern Gaelic. Whatever, then, of the poetic merit of Ossian and its influence upon subsequent European literature, Mac Pherson's work is not translation in any verifiable way. The same absence of a chronological sense marks Charlotte Brooke's Reliques of Irish Poetry[7] (1789), which the translator takes to be 'ancient', a word which in Mac Pherson, Brooke and Hardiman really means 'of unascertained age'. All of Brooke's sources are modern. The Encounter of Cú Chulainn with his son Connlaí in its oldest form is ninth century Old Irish.[8] It is comparable to other Indo-European versions of the father-son encounter such as the Old German Hildebrandslied or the Persian Sohrab and Rustum, and it has a special interest too as a specimen of later Old Irish rosca. Miss Brooke's source is an undistinguished Modern version in riming couplets. Her address to the rampaging hero runs:

> Welcome, O youth of the intrepid mien,
> In glittering armour drest!
> Yet, thus to see thee come, I ween,
> Speaks a stray'd course, illustrious Guest!
> But now, that safe the Eastern gale
> Has given thee to our view;
> Recount thy travels, give the high detail
> Of those exploits from whence thy glory grew.

She writes: "We cannot avoid perceiving the extreme elegance and delicacy with which the Herald addresses him, and makes his demand" (10). This can only refer to her own version, as she has substituted a young hero of romance for the modern Irish stereotype of the barbaric ancient hero.

> "I trust" she says in her Preface (vii) "I am doing an acceptable service to my country, while I endeavour to rescue from oblivion a few of the invaluable reliques of her ancient genius; and while I put it in the power of the public to form some idea of them, by clothing the thought of our Irish muse in language with which they are familiar ... And is not all this very honourable to our countrymen? ... Will they not be grateful at this lustre reflected on them by ancestors so very different from what modern prejudice has been studious to represent them? ... As yet, we are too little known to our noble neighbour of Britain; were we better acquainted, we should be better friends. The British muse is not yet informed that she has an elder sister in this isle; let us then introduce them to each other! ... Let them entreat

> of Britain to cultivate a nearer acquaintance with her neighbouring isle".

Miss Brooke's efforts correspond to the second phase of translation postulated by Goethe 30 years later in his notes to West-Östlicher Divan (1819). According to Goethe, every literature experiences three phases of translation from other languages. In the first phase foreign works are presented in a form consonant with the concepts, forms and modes of the receptor language, so that the transference is imperceptible. The manner of it is plain, modest, humble and the purpose to provide information. Goethe considers the second phase basically parodistic: the original is transformed into the translator's current idiom and frame of reference. He appropriates and represents the original in such fashion as his own talent and cultural milieu enable him; he does not reproduce the genius of his original. This is left for a third class of translator who, by metamorphosis of his original produces a work which can stand beside it - rather than substitute for it - as in the other, and particularly the second, mode of translation. In this third and highest mode full justice is done to the particularity of the original and the translator's version moves out to meet it, weaving his native language into new and jubilant patterns on the way. This is the kind of achievement that Goethe himself sought in his translations.

Brooke's Reliques was followed in 1831 by James Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy[9] with original text and English verse renderings on opposite pages. Of his principal translator, Thomas Furlong, Hardiman says (p. lxxviii):

> In his translations he endeavoured to express himself as he conceived the bard would have done, had he composed in English. He was "true to his sense, but truer to his fame."

- which presumably means that Furlong's poetic performance did his original full justice. We can test this in the modern Irish love song known as An Droighneán Donn 'The Brown Blackthorn' of which the first verse in Hardiman's version runs (p.234):

> Is dóich le céud fear gur leo féin me 'n-uair a luígheas damh mionn,
> 'S go dtéann dá dtrian síos díom, tráth smuainim air a chomhrá liom;
> Béilín meala, gruadh air lasadh tá air shliabh Ua Floinn,
> 'S go bhfuil mo ghrádh-sa mar bhláth na n-áirní air an droighneán donn.

The literal rendering of this is:

A hundred men think I am theirs when they swear
their vow to me,
And two-thirds go down off me when I think of
his converse with me;
Mouth of honey, cheek a-glow on Slieve Ua Floinn,
And my love is like the sloe-blossom on the
brown blackthorn.

N.B. Line 2 seems to mean: Two-thirds of their vows flow off me ...

The music of the verse depends upon identical stresses within it; the music of the stanza depends on end-rime (displaced in V.4) and on a consistent scheme of stressed assonances with at least two identical stresses inside each verse. The pattern is:

E:	E:	I:	O
I:	I:	I:	O
A	A	lA	OI
A:	A:	OI	O

Furlong translates:

Tho' some deem me won if I wear a smile,
As their oaths of fond passion are pour'd
forth the while;
When I think, but for once, of my own lov'd swain,
Then the tales they have told me are told in vain.

What hoards of rich sweetness his lips disclose?
How fair are the tints that his cheek still shews.
Oh! when near him, all others must be seen in scorn,
For he is bright as the blossom on the gay brown
thorn.

Here the translator, like Brooke before him, breaks the verse of four long riming units into eight English verses, with the result that it cannot be sung to the melody.[10] He also loses the assonantal pattern which Donal O Sullivan[11] marks and partly retrieves for the melody by way of English rime, as follows:

Fuaireas feirin lá aonaigh
ó bhuachaill deas,
Agus céad rud nach é sin
ó rogha na bhfear.
Sgala cléibh ar an té adéarfadh
nach tú mo shearc,
A bhuachaill ghléigil is breáth' in Éirinn,
's go n-éaloinn leat!

I got a fairing last fair-day
from a handsome boy,
And plenty I don't mention
from my true love and joy
My bitter curse be on the first
who denies we are one,
My hope of heaven! My heart is given
to thee alone.

Although she has a special rubric for Song, Brooke takes An Droighneán Donn under Elegy (p.200):

When oaths confirm a lover's vow,
He thinks I believe him true:
Nor oaths, nor lovers heed I now
For memory dwells on you.

The tender talk, the face like snow
On the dark mountain's height;
Or the sweet blossom of the sloe,
Fair blooming to the sight

Douglas Hyde's Irish version looks defective; his Anglo-Irish rendering is literal:[12]

Saoileann ceud fear gur leó féin mé nuair ólaim
lionn,
'S téann dá dtrian síos díom nuair smaoinim air
do chómhrá liom,
Do chum is mine ná an síoda air shliabh
Ui Fhloinn,
'S go bhfuil mo ghrádh-sa mar bhláth an áirne air
an droighneán donn.

A hundred men think that I am their own,
when I drink ale (with them),
But two-thirds of them go down (i.e. retire) from me
when I think of your conversation with me;
Your form smoother than the silk that is on the
mountain of O Flynn,
And sure my love is like the blossom of the
sloe on the brown blackthorn.

When we examine the renderings of Brooke and Furlong we wonder: What is transferred? What is translated? The texture of a folk life, a particular rural civilisation with its characteristic physical data, its special human approach, its life idea and life style evident in the Irish folk songs melt away at the portals of the nineteenth century drawing-room in which the romanticised, bookish and dated conventions of a phase of literary English hold sway. It is as if the peasant Karatayev of War and Peace locked into the idiom of the Russian countryside were made to say: This is not really my cup

of tea! How is Karatayev to function in an English drawing-room where the ladies are politely passing tea and gossip around? The verse produced by Brooke and Furlong has no necessary connection with its original beyond a problematic parallelism of theme. Is there a sense in which the vital experience in Irish folk poetry can be universalized? Can it be universalized by way of anaesthetic?

A further case of translation at different hands is afforded by the folk song Caiseal Mumhan 'Cashel of Munster' alias An Clár Bog Déil 'The Soft Board of Deal (or Dale)'. Its first stanza runs:

> Phósfainn thú gan bha gan phunt gan áireamh spré,
> A chuid den tsaol le toil do mhuintir' dá
> mb'áil leat mé.
> 'S é mo ghalar dúch gan me is tú, a dhianghrá mo
> chléibh,
> I gCaiseal Mumhan is gan de leaba fúinn ach clár
> bog déil.

In Irish Popular Songs edited by John O Daly in 1847, Edward Walsh translates (p.169):

> I would wed you dear, without gold or gear,
> or counted kine;
> My wealth you'll be, would your friends agree,
> and you be mine -
> My grief, my gloom! that you do not come, my
> heart's dear hoard,
> To Cashel fair, though our couch were there
> but a soft deal board.

Here Walsh is following his own prescript:

> The Irish scholar will perceive that I have embodied the meaning and spirit of each Irish stanza within the compass of the same number of lines, each for each; and that I have also preserved, in many of the songs, the caesural and demi-caesural rhymes, the use of which produces such harmonious effect in Irish verse. (Irish Popular Songs, pp. 14, 31-2).

Only the first line of this translation appears to work. Lines 2 and 3 force the meanings of wealth and hoard to make them function as a chuid den tsaol and dianghrá of the original function. The syntax of the subordinate phrases is also forced in lines 2 and 3. In line 4 fair and couch are inadequate.

In his Lays of the Western Gael, published in 1865, Samuel Ferguson includes our poem in the following

version of stanza 1:

> Phósfainn thú gan bha gan phunt gan áireamh spré,
> Agus phógfainn thú maidin drúchta le bánú an lae.
> 'S é mo ghalar dúch gan mé is tú, a dhianghrá mo chléibh,
> I gCaiseal Mumhan is gan de leaba fúinn ach clár bog déil.

He renders:

> I'd wed you without herds, without money, or rich array,
> And I'd wed you on a dewy morning at day-dawn grey;
> My bitter woe it is, love, that we are not far away
> In Cashel town, though the bare deal board were our marriage-bed this day.[13]

Compared to this spare and attractive version, Furlong's (Irish Minstrelsy, p.239) appears sentimentalised, posing and insincere. At the same time, Ferguson ignores the metre and assonance of his original and his version is unsingable. To mend these defects I propose the following modifications of Ferguson:

> I'd wed you dear, without cows or gear, or pounds to pay,
> And I'd kiss you on a dewy morn at day-dawn grey.
> My grief this night! O that you and I were many miles away
> In Cashel town and bedded down on the tender board of dale!

In line 1 the three items of the girl's dowry are now retrieved and the vowel assonance (as in the other three lines) echoed. In line 2 'kiss' is what the original proposes and in 4 'tender' for bog seems in context, while dale for 'deal' is actual and immediate dialect usage.

It is time to ask: what then are the criteria for interlingual transference? The basic statement for early times is Jerome's verbum e verbo 'word for word' in the case of the mysteries of religion, but meaning for meaning (sensum exprimere de sensu) everywhere else. Literal transference applies essentially to sacred or canonical texts: Early Indo-European civilisations are marked by an obsessive adherence to every detail of sacred text and ritual. It comes out clearly in early Indic tradition, where a failure to comply with the strict letter of ritual ceremonies necessitates a repetition of the ritual. This position is taken up by a mid-fifteenth century German translator from Latin, Nicholas von Wyle, who insists on ein jedes Wort gegen

ein anders Wort, matching each word of the original by an equivalent word of translation. Where the aim of a translation is fidelity to the content of its original, ignoring its form, the net result is of course, a prosaic paraphrase. This will usually suggest to a reader of sensibility that an original poem is jejune or trivial and without poetic merit. The mistake here is to think in terms of the source language only and to forget that the public for whom translations are provided will, unless otherwise instructed, take the English as equivalent to the source in all respects; just as Miss Brooke substituted Edmond Ryan or Edmond of the Hill for Éamonn a 'Chnuic (Reliques, p.207) and James Courtney for an Dall mac Cuarta. By so attaching these exotic, enigmatic figures in a conventional disguise to her own entourage she could easily attribute her own background and life experience to them. One could ignore the rest: it made life so much easier!

Gerard Murphy's version of Créide's Lament,[14] an old Irish lyric from about 800 A.D. will serve to exemplify literal translation. Here are the first and last verses:

It é saigte gona suain
Cech thrátha i n-aidchi aduair
Serccoí, lia gnása, iar ndé
Fir a tóeb thíre Roigne ...

Cráidid mo chride cainech,
A Chríst cáid, a fhoraided:
It é saigte gona suain
Cech thrátha i n-aidchi aduair.

The arrows that murder sleep, at every hour
in the cold night, are love-lamenting, by
reason of time spent, after day, in the
company of one from beside the land of Roigne.

His grievous death, holy Christ, torments
my kindly heart: these are the arrows that
murder sleep at every hour in the
cold night.

The meter is deibhide (7 syllables in each line with final rime between a stressed and unstressed syllable in each couplet; alliteration is frequent).

Can we restore the balance between form and content without impairing the latter? If so, our means will not be the identical ones of the original.

Proposed Verse Rendering

The arrows that murder sleep
In watches of the still cold night:
Love's lament, hours spent
At twilight with a lad from Raighne ...

His grievous death, my plight,
My lacerated heart, O Christ,
- These are the arrows that murder sleep
In watches of the still, cold night.

Poems of the Dispossessed 1600 - 1900,[15] published by Dolmen Press in 1981, suffers unfortunately from the same defect. On p.xxxv the editors explain:

> The primary aim of this anthology is to demonstrate the nature and quality of a part of the Irish poetic tradition to readers with some knowledge of modern Irish. The translations are designed accordingly.

Let us see what happens in practice. The first verse of Aogán Ó Rathaille's powerful plaint against Valentin Brún is given as follows (160):

> Do leathnaigh an ciach diachrach fám sheana-chroí dúr,
> Ar thaisteal na ndiabhal n-iasachta i bhfearann
> Choinn chughainn;
> Scamall ar ghriain iarthair dár cheartas ríocht
> Mumhan
> Fá ndeara dham triall riamh ort, a Vailintín Brún.

And rendered:

> A mist of pain has covered my dour old heart
> since the alien devils entered the land of Conn;
> our Western Sun, Munster's right ruler, clouded
> - there's the reason I'd ever to call on you,
> Valentine Browne.

For 'has covered' in line 1 read more accurately and adequately 'has spread o'er'.

The notion of a removable content which can be adequately expressed in prose looks particularly vunerable here. The Irish quatrain is made up of four identically constructed verses knit into a syntactic and metrical network in which each part corresponds to another. Its texture is determined by form and syntax, the form in turn depending on a closely knit assonantal and riming structure:

A	IA	IA	A	(I:)	U:
A	IA	IA	A	(I:)	U:
A	IA	IA	A	(I:)	U:
A	IA	IA	A	(I:)	U:

Syntactically, the quatrain is uttered in two movements or periods or couplets, and in the second couplet the theme of dispossession is brought forward on a chronological line. On the whole, then, the original mirrors powerfully and artistically the impact of a tottering polity on the heart of one of its guardians, the disfranchised professional poet. And what does the English version do? It gives an impression of four isolated utterances, the first imperfect, the third awkward and the fourth odd. Is the language of the English version unable, then, to touch the real life of the Irish poem? How is it that what it re-presents lacks the immediate and telling significance of the original? All I can do is attempt what we may later decide to be the impossible. So here's my proposed version:

> Black ravening grief wells up in this heart old
> and dour
> Since demons from oversea have visited Munster with
> ruin,
> A cloud o'er our western sun, chieftain tried
> and true
> That first drew my feet to your threshold,
> O Valentin Brún.

If this can be considered a successful rendering, it may be worth while to ponder over the task itself and the manner of its execution. In general terms we need a variety of English here which is capable of carrying the temperament and thrust of the original poem. This is what we expect of Anglo-Irish. But is <u>English</u> not also capable of it? People are inclined to forget that Celtic and English are neighbouring Indo-European languages which have been developing for nigh on 3,000 years in partly overlapping territory in Western Europe. Correspondences between Celtic and English are not confined to the modern period: one of the outstanding features of Celtic syntax, and of its chief modern representatives, Irish and Welsh, is a preference for substantival modes of expression; and this is also characteristic of the oldest English poetry. The earliest Welsh poetry is so readily accommodated in a pregnant English version as to make one wonder about the historical connections of these two cultures. In my version of the stanza there is nothing particularly

Hibernic about the linguistic usage, with the exception of the syntactic nexus in the second couplet: A cloud ... That first drew ... This is most characteristic of Irish usage.

Of the original rime and assonance, chiefly the final vocalic element (U:) has been retained in my translation; as it happens, the Irish word dúr 'hard, obdurate' which terminates line 1 of the original, is available in English as a loanword with the same vowel value. The (I:) assonance, so important in line 2 of the original, is retained in grief, demons, oversea, chieftain, feet to help the final (U:) assonance weld the stanza together. The formal difference between original and English version is, none the less, considerable, for in the former a comprehensive pattern of assonance is a donnée and primary; in the latter it is secondary and fragmented. In a useful article on Some Translations of Irish Poetry,[16] Cathal G. Ó hÁinle appears to expect that the sound patterns of the original should be carried over into the surrogate; that the captive meaning should be transferred together with the formal ritual which orchestrated it in the first, real act of creation. This, of course, embodies the persuasive and clearly correct view that translation to be acceptable should attend to the form of the original as well as its content. But such attention must also wait upon the other constraints in the interlingual transference of a message and on the tolerance of alien form in the literary convention of the receptor language. Does the constraint to reproduce an elaborate form in the translation work against the fidelity of the total message? And is the effect of such formal novelty to lend a sense of oddness, of the sub-standard, of the provincial or the dated? If the object of the translator is to place beside the original a poem memorable in its own right, how can he succeed without new initiatives, given the idiosyncrasy of each language and of each literary convention? It may well be another case of changing the means in order to retain the message.

I would now like to read my version of this whole poem of dispossession without troubling a mixed audience further at this point with problems of transference. According to the Irish heading in the Ms 'Áogan Ó Rathaille uttered it when he went with a poem [of praise, probably] to Sir Valentine Browne and was denied, refused and totally rejected by him'. This is the classic occasion for áer or a satiric poem. I begin with the first stanza of the original to renew our sense of its form; then my own

Proposed Version of Valentin Brún

Black ravening grief wells up in this heart old
and dour,
Since demons from oversea have visited Munster
with ruin,
A cloud o'er our western sun, chieftain tried
and true,
That first drew my feet to your threshold,
O Valentin Brún.

Cashel bereft of poets, guest-house and riders
on view,
The castles of Brian dark floods where otters
swim through,
The champaign of Mallow lost to the true princes'
rule,
- Or I'd never have darkened the threshold of
Valentin Brún.

The wild stag has changed from the noble shape
that we knew
Since the raven from oversea has nested in Ross's
wild moor
The fish no more frequent the streams or the
trickling pool,
Or I'd never have darkened the threshold of
Valentin Brún.

Dairinis now has no heir of the stock old and true
Since the earl, alas, to Hamburg has taken his troop,
A faded eye lamenting the fate of these two
Is what first forced my feet to the threshold of
Valentin Brún.

A few minor modifications of the original accompanied the process of gestation: In 1a the spreading mist of dejection becomes a grief which devours, or ravens the heart of the poet. In 1b the British invaders are said to be the ruin of Munster; the poet would have thought so and the presumption is rewarded with a final stress in (U:). Otherwise the rendering does not appear to deviate from the explicit intention of the poet. In 1c the clouding of the sun is no empty formula: Gaelic kingship, like Shakespeare's divine right of kings, was based on a contract between king and supernatural powers whereby the latter, and especially the sun as divine element of fruitfulness, light and heat authorised the flow of all prosperity, fortune and well-being in the kingdom while the king's Truth or Justice prevailed. We learn from 4a, b that the local ruler, earl Donncha Mac Cárthaigh, who also ruled Valentia Island or Dairinis (4a) was in exile in Hamburg.

The anglicization of proper names both personal and topographic was part of a political policy of annexation and absorption. When it is done through the mediation of the native tongue, Irish, we get forms arising from the native system such as Brian with Irish [ia], Cónlon with first syllable stress, Me-yó for the county Mayo with second syllable stress as in Irish Muigh Eó, Kildare with -dare stressed as in Irish Cill Dara. When the anglicization follows an English pattern, that is, when the forms are converted to the patterns of English stressing and phonology we get forms such as [bra:n], Connéllan, Máyo, Kil-dare. These are in origin spelling pronunciations, based upon ignorance of the names, by English speakers who treat the names as English. So what? Well, Connéllan can mean nothing; it has no etymology; Cónlon has. The point is that I find the native names and word-forms essential for translation from Irish. Indeed on the whole question of the anglicization of foreign names - and of foreign languages such as Latin - one must reserve judgment. It is an area of great interest. In any case, for the poet Aogán Ó Rathaille, Sir Valentine Browne was Vailintín Brún, which would have been an older form of this Norman name. Similarly the poet of An Clár Bog Déil, The Soft Board of Dale, would have used this dialect form of the English deal, a variety of timber, as his Irish word was based on it.

What's in a name? A story is told of the poet Aithirne the Greedy. He had three cranes in front of his house to repel visitors. The first would say: 'Don't come in!'; the second: 'Be off!' and the third: 'Begone from the house!', for Aithirne was too mean to entertain visitors. In fact he used to eat in secret places in case he'd have to share. So one day he went off to the wood with his roast pig and bottle of mead. 'You shouldn't eat on your own!' said the voice, and the next thing pig and mead were snatched from him and the stranger was making off with them. 'Wait!' said Aithirne 'what's your name?' The stranger mumbled some rigmarole and disappeared - and Aithirne was left without a victim for his satire. Possession of the name meant possession of power over the person; for according to tradition satire could and did actually ravage its victim. But unless you knew someone's name you couldn't satirise him. The name was necessary for the poem; and the venom lay in the poet's craft, his way with words.

Construing an author word for word and line for line John Dryden called metaphrase. This he contrasts with imitation 'where the translator assumes the liberty not only to vary from the words and sense, but to forsake them both as he sees occasion'. In his own practice he opts for a via media which he calls paraphrase:

"translation with latitude, where the author is kept in view by the translator, so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly followed as his sense, and that too is admitted to be amplified, but not altered. Through paraphrase the spirit of an author may be transfused, and yet not lost. Right translation is a kind of drawing after the life". Dryden summarizes his thought and practice as follows:

> On the whole matter I thought fit to steer betwixt the two extremes of paraphrase and literal translation; to keep as near my author as I could. Without losing all his graces, the most eminent of which are in the beauty of his words; and those words, I must add, are always figurative. Such of these as would retain their elegance in our tongue, I have endeavoured to graff on it; but most of them are of necessity to be lost, because they will not shine in any but their own. Virgil has sometimes two of them in a line; but the scantiness of our heroic verse is not capable of receiving more than one; and that too must expiate for many others which have none. Such is the difference of the languages, or such my want of skill in choosing words. Yet I may presume to say ... that, taking all the materials of this divine author, I have endeavoured to make Virgil speak such English as he would himself have spoken, if he had been born in England, and in this present age.[17]

Compelling motivations both for and against translation have been drawn from the divine origin and characteristics attributed to speech in ancient times.[18] On the one hand, the message is inviolable and dare not be scrutinised or modified. On the other hand, the dissemination of the message is imperative and translation offers the only access to it. Hand in hand with the inviolability of the message is the view that poetry is untranslatable, for speech in Heidegger's terms is <u>die Urdichtung, in der ein Volk das Sein dichtet</u>, the primeval poetry in which a people sings its existence. On a more general level, can messages be identical when codes are different? Roman Jakobson holds that poetry is untranslatable because it is governed by paronomasia, a specific punning panoply; that is, a specific relationship between meaning and phonemic form. 'Creative trans-position', then, is all that is possible; inside a language from one poetic form to another; between languages; and between codes.

The question whether poetry is translatable rests in fact upon the practical problem how to be faithful to one's original. I have already touched upon this in considering examples above and shall conclude with a

specimen of Bardic poetry[19] the discussion of which I must reserve to another occasion:

Ní bhfuighe Mise Bás Duit

Ni bhfuighe mise bás duit
   a bhean úd an chuirp mar ghéis;
daoine leamha ar mharbhais riamh,
   ní hionann iad is mé féin.

Créad uma rachainn-se d'éaq
   don bhéal dearg, don déad mar bhláth?
an crobh miolla, an t-ucht mar aol,
   an dáibh do-gheabhainn féin bás?

Do mhéin aobhdha, th'aigneadh saor,
   a bhas thana, a thaobh mar chuip,
a rosg gorm, a brágha bhán, -
   ní bhfuighe mise bás duit.

Do chíocha corra, a chneas úr,
   do ghruaidh chorcra, do chúl fiar, -
go deimhin ni bhfuighead bás
   dóibh sin go madh háil le Dia.

Do mhala chaol, t'fholt mar ór,
   do rún geanmnaidh, do ghlór leasg,
do shál chruinn, do cholpa réidh, -
   ni mhuirbhfeadh siad acht duine leamh.

A bhean úd an chuirp mar ghéis,
   do hoileadh mé ag duine glic;
aithne dhamh mar bhíd na mná;
   ni bhfuighe mise bás duit!

I shall not die for thee

I shall not die for thee,
O woman shaped like the swan,
The guileless ones that died
Were not like me.

Why should I taste death
For red lips and ivory teeth,
For slender waist and swan breast,
How should I die for these?

Your pleasant mien, your noble mind,
Your slender hand and foam-bright limbs,
Your soft white neck and dark-blue eye
- For none of these shall I die.

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Bright skin and rounded breasts,
Flowing hair and cheeks of wine,
Not unless it's God's design
Shall I die for these.

Your slender brows, your golden hair,
Your modest heart, voice languid, cool,
Rounded heel and smooth-arched calf
Will kill none but a fool.

A woman shaped like the swan
A wise one fostered me,
O slender hand, white neck,
I shall not die for thee.

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16. In Literature and the Changing Ireland, ed. P. Connolly, pp.37-57, (Barnes & Noble 1982).

17. Transll. of Virgil, Preface (1697).

18. For further material and discussion of this and other topics involved in translation see George Steiner's excellent study, After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation, (London 1975).

19. For the Irish text see T. F. O Rahilly, Dánta Grádha I, p.132.

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THE METHODOLOGY OF URBAN LANGUAGE STUDIES: THE EXAMPLE OF BELFAST

The sociolinguistic study of dialects that are highly divergent from Standard English is still not an easy undertaking; to plan and direct such a study in the early to mid 1970s was particularly challenging. In this paper I should like to review some aspects of the two social-dialectological projects that were carried out in Belfast in 1975-7 and 1979-82.[1]

First, I shall give a retrospective account of the basis on which the research was carried out: this will necessarily be selective; second, I shall discuss the model of speech community developed in the project, and the way in which variable data can be interpreted within this model; finally I shall suggest certain possible interpretations of the functions of variability in language, chiefly concerning the relation of the social variable, sex of speaker, to language variation and change. It is assumed that an urban community constitutes a very suitable locus for the study of language change and variation, as, typically, populations from different backgrounds come together over a number of years in the urban environment. Belfast is a young industrial city which underwent rapid population growth between about 1850 and 1930: comparison of present-day data with Patterson's account (1860) shows that there have been many linguistic changes in the last 120 years.

Certain views on the nature of language in society underlie the design of the projects and have been further developed within them. Although language can be studied as a formal object independent of speakers, a sociolinguistic study must see language as primarily a possession of individual speakers, used by them - as they feel the need - to communicate with and influence other human beings. If language can be said metaphorically to have a 'life', then it is a social life, inseparable in the last analysis from the activities of the speakers who possess it. If change is observed in language, it must have come about as a result of the activities of speakers. Although 'commonsense' observation may suggest that change and variation are inconvenient and dysfunctional, I subscribe to the view (following Weinreich, Labov & Herzog, 1968) that change and variation in some sense serve the needs of speakers and are therefore in some way functional. I shall later suggest some ways in which socially-patterned variation is functional in a speech community.

In terms of the wider linguistics establishment, these remarks are not uncontroversial. Linguistic research still often focuses on synchronic and homogeneous states of language abstracted from the activities of speakers. Even in historical linguistics (as Lass, 1980:120-121 points out) it is usually languages that are said to have the capacity to change, and not speakers who are said to have the capacity to change languages. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the tradition that language has a 'life' independent of speakers is a very old one, going back at least to the mid-nineteenth century (Trench

1851, Müller 1861). Of course, it may often be desirable for some purposes to view language as an abstraction independent of speakers, but in historical sociolinguistics it may lead to some apparent contradictions; I should like to discuss a case in point.

Systematic observation in inner-city Belfast (1975-7) established reasonably clearly the direction and pattern of changes in progress in the realisations of /a/ and /ɛ/ (J. & L. Milroy, 1977, 1978, 1985). Short /a/ is 'moving back' from low front values to low back values, whereas short /ɛ/ is 'moving upward' from low/low-mid front to mid-front. To be more precise, items within the /ɛ/ system that have been traditionally realised as [a, æ] are being transferred to [e] realisations, involving a jump across phonetic space. These are /e/ items with following voiceless stops, and with following sonorants and voiceless obstruents (wet, went, pence), and most disyllabic and polysyllabic /ɛ/ items (see Table 1). Other items (e.g. send, bed seem to have been almost categorically realised with fully mid (and long) vowels for some time (see Table 1). The difference between the low, short variant and the mid, long variant is gross and obvious.

Table 1

Simplified pattern for /ɛ/

Mid vowel	Low vowel
end	twenty
rest	mention
depressed	injection
dead	pet
less	went
bed	pleasure

A dynamic modelling of these changes within an idealised vowel space shows these two vowels moving away from one another: as one moves upward from a low-front value, the other moves backward from a similar value, presumably leaving the low-front region untenanted to a certain extent. Viewed at an abstract level, we may interpret this as an attempt on the part of the language to disentangle a merger or near-merger of items like: pat, pet; can't, Kent, and so forth. This is no doubt a reasonable interpretation, but if we view the phenomenon at the level of speaker or groups of speakers, a completely different pattern emerges. The Ballymacarrett figures in Tables 2 and 3 show that the realisations of these vowels are, in quantitative terms, sex-differentiated:

Table 2

Sex-differentiation in backing of /ɐ/ in Ballymacarrett:
the higher the figure the greater the degree of retraction/backing.
IS: Interview style; SS: Spontaneous style.

	Men (40-55)	Women (40-55)	Men (18-25)	Women (18-25)
IS	3.03	1.75	2.89	1.89
SS	3.58	2.58	3.43	2.10

Table 3

Sex-differentiation in raising of /ɛ/ in variable environments:
percentage figures for low variant in spontaneous style.
(Ballymacarrett):

Men (40-55)	Women (40-55)	Men (18-25)	Women (18-25)
100	68	100	56

Our research has further shown that whereas the change towards backing of /ɐ/ is led by males, raising of /ɛ/ is led by females (see J. & L. Milroy, 1985). Thus, the generalised picture of vowels moving away from one another in phonetic space does not capture what is happening at the level of speaker. In general, those speakers who have considerable /ɐ/ backing (usually male) do not have /ɛ/ raising, and vice versa (i.e. females do not have as much backing of /ɐ/ and at the same time exhibit /ɛ/ raising). The point of this is that interpretation at the level of speaker gives us an opportunity to explain the actuation and diffusion of changes in terms of sex-differentiation, whereas a generalised account of the change at the linguistic level does not. I shall return to the role of sex-differentiation later in this paper. I now focus, briefly and retrospectively, on two of the prevailing influences that were important in designing the projects in the early 1970s.

First, Chomsky had rightly emphasised in the 1960s that the ultimate aim of linguistic theory was to explain the intuitions (sometimes competence) of the idealised native speaker-listener. At the same time, however, he had argued against the use of large corpora of language, in reaction against the corpus-based approach of American structuralists (as late as 1975, Chomsky still seems to have viewed sociolinguistics - being corpus-based - as a harmless activity like butterfly collecting, but not capable of discovering explanatory principles: 1975:57). The adoption of these two Chomskyan axioms led in fact to a spate of publications in which linguists relied on their own alleged intuitions in order to decide whether particular sentences were grammatical (or well-formed) or not. This involved an apparent

contradiction: linguists wished to have access to the intuitions of native speakers, but did not for the most part study native speakers and so did not have very expert knowledge about how native speakers actually used language. Their reliance on personal introspection was memorably attacked by Labov (1972a); it can be suggested that what they called intuition was actually based on informal observation of what they considered to be their own usage or that of their communities. Inevitably, such observation is coloured by knowledge of a superordinate literary standard language. Furthermore, whereas these observations are unsystematic, observations carried out in a large - scale sociolinguistic project are systematic observations of the speech of large numbers of speakers. This gives us the possibility of having access to the intuitions of many native speaker-listeners, and much of the work of the projects was designed to give us such access. We wanted to know what kind of knowledge of language people possess that enables them to use it in a variety of communicative functions.

Another background factor in the early 1970s was the pervasive influence, in British phonetics and historical linguistics, of studies of standard English and Received Pronunciation (RP). I have elsewhere (J. Milroy, 1984) pointed out that some distortions in our knowledge of the history of English may have arisen from this narrow emphasis, and that scholars have even used their own 'intuitions' as modern RP speakers to decide what was, or was not a possible pronunciation in 1600 or so. E.J. Dobson (1957:548-9) for example, rejects the evidence of sixteenth century spellings that appear to confuse a and e (Wanysday, massage for 'Wednesday, message'; seck, Jenewery for 'sack, January') mainly on the grounds that no English-speaking person could confuse the sounds [æ] and [a]. These early spellings are in fact excellent representations of present-day Ulster pronunciations, arising from the rules lowering / æ / to [a , ɑ] in polysyllables and raising / a / to [æ] before velars and (recessively) before nasals (for further details see Table 4, below). It is likely that these rules have played some part in the history of English generally, and it is studies such as the Belfast projects that will help us in reconstruction.

The danger of using the codified dialect (RP and standard English) as some kind of underlying reference point exists for all unsystematic observers, whether they be Chomskyan linguists relying on their 'intuitions' or dialect investigators relying on evidence from only a few speakers. One colleague (himself from Ulster) thought at first that the raising of / a / to [ɛ] in Belfast English might be influenced by the norms of conservative RP, in which raising of /a/ is general. The display in Table 4 shows that RP norms are in fact irrelevant here. Whereas RP has a front-raised value in a wide range of environments, Belfast vernacular (BV) has it only in velar environments and (very sporadically) in polysyllables. Items like bad, hand have backing of /a/ in Belfast, whereas they are front in RP. Backing to [ɑ:] applies in Belfast in those environments where RP has it (plaster, etc) but also in labial nasal and pre-voiced stop environments (where RP does not have it). The RP can, can't

distinction is reversed - with the long back vowel in can and short, front in can't. In short, the system is independent of RP and must be described in its own terms, and the kind of knowledge or intuitions that enable speakers to use the system in this way are also unaffected by RP. Plainly, a much larger amount of careful phonological analysis than has been usual is essential.

Table 4

Range in realisations of /ɔ/ for an 18-year old male speaker in Ballymacarrett.
Backing applies in environments where /ɑ/ is not found in RP.

ɛ	æ	ɐ, ə	ɑ	ɔ
bang (5)	Bangor	Castlereagh (2)	bad	past
crack (2)	jacket	barracks	Strathearn	plaster
Kojak	back	that (3)	have	palace
avenue	cracking	snap	wrap	hand
		cracking	happen	Belfast (2)
		Albert	Belfast	stand-by
		avenue	Catholic (2)	handsome
		baton (2)	Castlereagh	can
		camera	happy	strand
		Shankill (2)	handsome	
			candid	

In view of these matters, it seemed to be necessary to discover and describe how people actually do talk in order to have some possibility of accessing their intuitions about language, and, at a more generalised level, to be able to locate linguistic change in the community. The difficulty of accessing the limits of particular grammars (or phonological rules) can be demonstrated from two (out of many) such problems that actually occurred in the Belfast projects: the limits on for-to complementation and the limits on the [ɑ] ~ [ʌ] alternation in items like pull, shook. Problems such as these were expected to arise and to highlight difficulties in the quantitative methodology.

In J. Milroy (1981) it is suggested that for-to complementation (as in 'I went down the road for to see my mother') does not occur after certain private state verbs, such as want, like. Alison Henry (1984:70) reports that an informant denied that for-to complementation could occur after want, but then shortly afterwards said spontaneously: 'I want for to be helpful'. The problem is the same as that which confronted Labov (1972b) in his study of 'positive anymore', but probably looms larger in the highly 'divergent' (s. Johnston, 1984) urban dialects of Britain and Ireland than in most of North America. Informants cannot make explicit their own intuitions, and investigators, who may well have themselves developed some intuitions about the dialect concerned, nevertheless cannot have certainty about the full extent of a given grammar.

In the case of the (pull) variable, the investigators knew that certain items (e.g. pill, push, bull, shook, took) alternated between [ʊ] and [ʌ] realisations. This includes a set from ME u with initial labial consonants, and a small set arising from shortening of ME ō, with some additional items including could, would, should. The extent of the alternating set is not clear, and it varies for different persons. Some items from ME ō (e.g. good, hook) occur only with [ʊ] in present-day Belfast, whereas similar items (stood, look, foot) alternate. Certain items listed by Patterson (1860) as having [ʌ] did not occur in our data with [ʌ]: these are wood, wool, hood; other items that we might expect to alternate occurred in our data with the vernacular [ʌ] variant only: these are pulpit, pulley, cushion, woman. Thus, the investigators had to demonstrate the intricate and detailed process of lexical transfer from [ʌ] to [ʊ] (J. Milroy, 1980) by counting only those items that actually did alternate in the recorded data. Although opinions by investigators and informants might have been expressed as to which additional items could alternate, it would have been unwise to rely on such opinions. To put it another way - we wanted to access the intuitions of native speakers of a variety of English, but it seemed methodologically unsound to impose our own acquired 'intuitions' on the data and safer to use purely descriptive and quantitative methods. The methodological problem of lexical input to variables (such as the case discussed) loomed very large in the project. It is odd that sociolinguistic investigators have discussed this problem so rarely (but see Knowles, 1978, Johnston, 1984, Neu, 1980). Recently, Horvath & D. Sankoff (1983:1) have been able to comment that in sociolinguistic studies 'the linguistic categories are generally well defined'. In the Belfast project, they were not initially well defined at all, and one of the main contributions of the difficult linguistic analysis carried out was to delimit the categories in a principled way.

In view of these difficulties in delimiting relevant variables, it will now be clear that prior observation of phonological variation is absolutely crucial to the quantitative study of a 'divergent' dialect in a single-social class dimension; investigators do not necessarily have prior 'intuitions' about all the phonologically conditioned and socially conditioned variation that may be found. In what Johnston (1984) has called 'divergent-dialect areas', the range between the top and bottom of the sociolinguistic pyramid is immense - such speech-communities may display code-switching and other discontinuous patterns of variation (as, for example in Tyneside and in some Scottish areas studied by Johnston). The number of significant variables that might be uncovered in such areas certainly runs into the hundreds (Pellowe et al (1972:18-19) identified 303 variables in Tyneside). Before the Belfast projects started, prior phonological observation had already indicated that a very large number could be identified in Belfast. Furthermore, although, at a very generalised and rather superficial level, it was easily possible to locate some variables that would pattern neatly on a socio-economic class continuum (like post-vocalic / r / in New York City), at a more detailed level the speech-community did not seem to pattern in this

continuous way (see further below). In order to advance our knowledge of how speech communities are patterned, and how people exploit socially-related variation within them, it seemed necessary to carry out investigation of variation that was not confined to what was superficially noticeable in middle-class circles (such as high-status RP-like unrounding of /o/, which is peripheral to the community).

The prior description of phonological variation depended to a great extent on experience gained in teaching elementary phonetics to Ulster students. In this activity a great many observations on length and height variations in the vowel-system (for example) could be checked out. I was also greatly assisted by Patterson's (1860) elocution handbook (The provincialisms of Belfast), which located a number of cases in which change appeared to have taken place, and by descriptions such as those of Adams (1964 etc) (general Ulster) and Gregg (1964) (Larne). As a result of this prior work the inner-city pilot study (1974-5) was able to exclude, in the reading task, some variables that might pattern in the broad social-class dimension, and attempted to focus on those that might prove significant in the inner-city. Both the pilot study and the inner-city project had, in fact, to be highly selective, as the number of potentially interesting phonological variables noticed were numerous (not to speak of morphology and syntax). For example, one area of interest was that of merger before /r/, which affects many vowels. Although merger of items like fur, fir, fair seemed to be in progress (and proved to differ as between word-list and conversational styles), variables before /r/ were not, in the event, fully quantified in the study. Thus, although the number of possible variables had been greatly reduced by excluding the dimensions of SEC, the number of possibly significant variables that we knew something about still remained quite large. Selectivity was necessary for reasons of time, and in practice, an open-ended policy was followed decisions on what variables to quantify and how to quantify them were made almost on a day to day basis. As I was largely responsible for selecting the variables, a good deal depended on my phonological knowledge I still do not know whether we in fact selected in every case the variables that would most clearly exhibit change in progress, and I know that some other interesting variables still remain unquantified.

The foregoing discussion certainly raises issues that are relevant to dimensions of variation and change within speech communities, to which I now turn.

The shape of the speech community

Labov's early study (1966) and later work in the Labov paradigm (Trudgill, 1974, Macaulay, 1977 etc) used socio-economic or occupational class as the main social variable co-varying with linguistic variables. The main difference between these and the Belfast study was that in the latter the investigators chose in the first place to concentrate entirely on three inner-city working-class communities of comparable (low) status. The status variable was considered later (1979-82). At the time this might have appeared to

be risky: all major studies had used socio-economic class as the main variable and it might have been felt, given the current paradigm, that the researchers might find little significant variation in a one-class study. However, sociolinguistic studies had also uncovered variation according to other social factors - chiefly sex and age differentiation - and as we already had a good knowledge of phonological variation (as pointed out above), we were quite confident that socially significant variation would appear the problem was to select the 'best' variables from a rather large number. Another practical problem was to get sufficient inner-city data.

To get access to such data in sufficient quantity and quality, and to develop methods for describing and interpreting it, are both difficult and challenging. The investigators believed that the exclusive use of current sampling techniques allied with Labov's type of interview schedule might not be enough to yield what was wanted (because of familiar problems of observer effect in accessing the vernacular and, possibly, the wide range of stylistic variation controlled by informants). Therefore, a method based on quota-sampling (access to the communities being through friends of friends with all institutional channels of contact carefully avoided) was adopted. The aim of the fieldwork was to come as close as possible as often as possible to participant observation, falling back on interviews when this was not possible in the time available. The methods are fully described in L. Milroy (1980) and in summary in J. & L. Milroy (1977).

Much of what I have discussed above can be summed up in a metaphor that I have used in a previous paper (1982) 'probing under the tip of the iceberg'. If we think of the tip of the iceberg as being analogous to the tip of the sociolinguistic pyramid (at which point language is likely to be more standardised and less variable than at the bottom), then it appears that to approach the iceberg from the top is to approach the whole speech community from the point of view of the most standardised variety. Furthermore, in so far as the process of language standardisation clearly involves suppression of variability and aims at uniformity, it follows that the origins of linguistic changes will be much less accessible in such standardised varieties than in the more variable lower reaches of the pyramid (or iceberg). In my view, much linguistic scholarship (modern, traditional, synchronic and diachronic) has been tainted by this consequence of standardisation.

Just as, in a historical dimension, present-day standard English is ultimately based on the unstandardised vernaculars of the late Middle Ages, so in less historical depth, the language of a large city has as its basis the vernacular of that city - not the high-prestige national standard. Many thousands of people from the different dialect areas of Ulster have in recent times settled in Belfast. It is their language, and not the high-prestige national standard, that gives us the basis for understanding the nature of variation in the Belfast speech community at large. In approaching the community in this way, we imply an underlying model of the speech community that is

different from those that prevailed in the 1960s and before.

First, in English historical linguistics, H.C. Wyld had proposed in effect that urban speech was not 'dialect' at all, but 'the modified standard of city vulgarians'. The underlying model is clearly one of urban speech filtering downward from the upper social classes - quite the opposite of what was proposed in the Belfast project. Such views had had a negative effect on research in urban dialects, as in many quarters it was felt that urban speech was somehow not a legitimate object of study. But the most influential model in sociolinguistics in 1970 or so was the linear 'status' model used by Labov (1966).

Although the Labov model was based on socio-economic class (SEC), it is reasonable to point out that what actually matters to speakers is not SEC as such, but the subjectively perceived status of other individuals. The use of some kind of class or occupational indicator as the non-linguistic variable is best seen as an attempt to access patterns of status and prestige. However since status may include factors additional to class, it is perhaps a less exact indicator of status than we have tended to believe. But what is also important here is the fact that the status (or class) model is linear i.e. it exhibits co-variation of the phonetic variable in a single dimension with the social variable - also in a single linear dimension; thus, in New York City (eh), vowel-height is shown to co-vary with SEC the lower the vowel, the higher the SEC. There have been criticisms of aspects of this methodology, of which one is the reliance on only one phonetic dimension (such as vowel height) (for some criticisms see Knowles, 1978). In vowel variation it often happens that other dimensions, such as length and diphthongisation, may be significant also. A linear model, however, does not in itself give us access to certain things of a more general kind that may be happening in the speech community. In this respect, I suggest that use of the linear model as a fundamental part of the methodology may impose on the investigator a rather narrow view of what a speech community is actually like. I propose two ways in which our view needs to be expanded. the first affects the social organisation of the speech community and the second its linguistic organisation.

The community is not organised on a single dimension of status, but in many possible dimensions. In particular, the interaction of status and solidarity is crucial. Solidarity factors affect every level of society, but are most influential where there is least social mobility (i.e. at the top and the bottom). Solidary pressures resist change within communities and may explain, amongst other things, the persistence of low-status varieties and low-status forms over a period of time. Indeed, some research in the Belfast project has shown that low-prestige forms can be remarkably resistant to change. an extreme case of this is the Early English three-way distinction between the vowels of the MEET, MEAT and MATE classes, which still exists in Belfast (J. Milroy & Harris 1980), nearly three centuries after it was reduced to a two-way distinction in standard English. In general, we dealt with the solidarity dimension in Belfast by using measures of

social network a composite social variable based on indicators of solidarity. This attempted to measure the strength of personal ties of individuals, contracted for the most part at the same socio-economic level.

As for the linguistic structure of the community. one obvious linguistic pattern not captured by a linear model is the pattern of simplification that is evident if we compare Table 4 with Tables 5, 6, 7 (below).

Table 5

/ a / range for a Working Class male Belfast speaker word-list style (from random sample survey).

	ɛ	æ	ɐ	ɜ	ɑ	ɔ
bag	+					
back			+			
cap				+		
map					+	
passage					+	
cab						+
grass						+
bad						+
man						+
castle				+		
dabble				+		
passing						+

Table 6

/ a / range for a Middle Class Belfast speaker (19 year old man) showing convergence on [ɑ] word-list style (random sample survey).

	ɐ	ɜ	ɑ
bag	+		
back		+	
cap			+
map			+
passage			+
cab			+
grass			+
bad			+
man			+
castle			+
dabble			+
passing			+

Table 7

/ a / range for a Middle Class Belfast speaker: word-list style (random sample survey).

	a
bag	+
back	+
cap	+
map	+
passage	+
cab	+
grass	+
bad	+
man	+
castle	+
dabble	+
passing	+

A purely linear model constrains the investigator to examine simple substitution processes of different variants of a pre-determined variable on a one-dimensional scale, (e.g. a series of lower (or higher) vowel qualities of /a/ co-varying with rise (or fall) in SEC, in New York). The generalisation arising from this is that social classes 1 and 2 have higher or lower incidences of particular variants (of certain pre-determined variables) than other social classes; the linear model does not in itself capture patterns of alternation, merger or allophonic conditioning, and does not show whether these patterns are more or less complicated at higher (or lower) status levels or in different social groups generally. The evidence in the tables 4, 5, 6, 7 captures a pattern of simplification. In her active competence, the middle-class speaker whose display is given in Table 8 may even have lost the complex rules of allophonic conditioning that are present in Tables 4, 5 and 6. More correctly, at the level of speaker, she shows no evidence of 'knowing' these rules: at the linguistic level (comparing her with other speakers), we can speak of a pattern of rule-loss. This pattern is discussed in detail in J. Milroy (1982), where statistical methods are used to show that simplification of allophony increases with higher social status: middle-class speakers appear to aim at a single area of vowel space in realising tokens of / a /, whereas working-class speakers have a phonetically wide range of allophonically conditioned realisations. Women are more likely than men to show the simplification pattern, and I shall return to this point later. To perceive and demonstrate this kind of pattern obviously requires an approach to possible patterns of variation that goes outside the linear model. if we resort to the spatial metaphor again, it implies a triangular or pyramidal model, with greater or lesser simplification as we go up or down the pyramid. Such an approach depends on adequate description of non-standard phonology followed by quantification, but ultimately on being prepared to locate patterns of variation that are not accounted for by simple linear co-variation between a previously determined phonetic variable

and the social variable: socio-economic class.

Sex-differentiation and linguistic change

I should like to conclude this paper by turning to a more speculative matter, which is the subject of a forthcoming article. We have noted above that variability is in some sense functional. I would like to suggest that, of the social variables normally used, SEX OF SPEAKER is more strongly implicated in linguistic change than has usually been realised, i.e. sex-differentiation is functional in linguistic change.

Quantititative accounts of change have usually found (or implied) that there is an interaction between sex and social status in linguistic variation (see, for example, J. Milroy, 1982): in simpler terms, females have usually been found to prefer - to an extent - realisations of variables that also carry some status in the wider community, whereas males prefer conservative realisations that focus more on solidary patterns.

In the discussion of simplification above, we focused on status (or class), but also mentioned that females normalised more than males (i.e. seemed to aim more directly at a precise area of vowel space for a lexical set). Now, there are other cases of simplification present in the Belfast community which we perceived very early to be related to social status, but which may also be led by females. For example, the change in progress from low realisations of / ɛ / to mid realisations is certainly led by females (see J. & L. Milroy, 1985, and the figures in Table 2 above); however, notice that the effect of this change is again to reduce allophony: whereas females are moving to a mid realisation for all tokens of / ɛ /, males are preserving the low token ([a , æ]) in certain environments, and hence a wider variety of realisations. More broadly, it may be the case that patterns of lexical transfer (from one phoneme to another) - as in the (pull) variable discussed above - and patterns of merger also have some relation to sex-differentiation. Certainly, it is clear that higher status speakers have little or no alternation of [ɷ] and [ʌ] in the pull variable, but focus on [ɷ], whereas working-class speakers show intricate patterns of socially sensitive alternation. But for this Belfast variable and all other alternating variables, females show a lower incidence of the vernacular variant than men (most prominently in Ballymacarrett, East Belfast). Similarly, in the case of merger, higher status speakers do not display a three-way variation between items of the MEET/MEAT/MATE classes, but usually merge MEET items and MEAT items. But again, sex differentiation may be implicated: in the J. Milroy & Harris (1980) study, the investigators were forced to focus on inner-city male speech as sufficient tokens of the conservative MEAT variant could not be found in inner-city female speech. Thus, these various patterns of phonological simplification may co-vary not only with social class but also with the variable SEX OF SPEAKER.

In the Belfast project variation according to sex-difference was

the most consistent type of variation uncovered. Female differences were virtually always skewed in the same direction. If placed on a linear SEC scale, female scores would tend upwards on the hierarchy - towards 'higher prestige' variants than men. There is now nothing surprising about these findings, but, we can now add the fact that females (like higher status groups) also tend in the direction of greater simplification of the system. Since sex-difference is a simple variable (as compared with composite variables such as social class and social network , which depend on a number of indicators, the suitability of which can be disputed), it may be that we have given too little attention to the linguistic consequences of this universal difference between people.

Suggested explanations for this apparently universal tendency have usually depended on the notion of prestige; women are thought to take their cue from status groups above their own. But if we consider the facts of society, it is rather difficult to accept that it is females who are desperately struggling to acquire power and influence in their use of language; in our society and many others, it is males and not females who usually exhibit the extremes of competitive behaviour. Therefore, it is sometimes said that, since women have less opportunity than men to achieve upward mobility in their careers, they attempt to acquire status 'by proxy' through their use of language. I think there are serious flaws in this argument, as it leaves sex-differentiation in language devoid of any convincing motivation or function. If women have little to gain and if their social status depends on their menfolk, why do they bother to aspire upward in their language?

Labov's recent findings on ethnic differences in Philadephia (Labov, 1984) may be instructive here. Labov reports that Blacks do not, for the most part, share in the changes in progress discernible in the white community, and his explanation for this is in terms of access to power and influence. As Blacks in general continue to have much less access to upward social mobility than whites, it is suggested that the social rewards associated with white speech patterns will not be available to Blacks; therefore the Blacks have no reason to adopt white speech patterns. In this case, the variable of ethnicity proves to be more basic than that of social status. In our society, females also have been traditionally disadvantaged in a similar way and have not usually been rewarded with power and influence. Why then do they move in the direction of higher status speech, when the Philadelphia ethnic minority does not? In particular, why should we take social status as primary, and simpler variables like sex and ethnicity as secondary?

The methodology of the Belfast projects, and the notion of speech community arising out of it, partly condition the kind of answer I should like to suggest to these questions. Seen in this perspective, the generalisation that women aspire upwards, imitating speakers of higher social class, is probably not the correct generalisation. The females studied in our inner-city project were certainly non-standard speakers in the sense that their phonological systems (although often

less complex than those of men), and their phonetic realisations, were not remotely similar to those of high status or 'standard' speech. The correct generalisation is that females are less close than males to traditional (mixed-dialect) vernacular speech. In situations where the gulf between the local variety and the variety labelled 'standard' is less vast (e.g. in much of North America and in parts of S.E. England), it may appear that in moving away from localised usage, women adopt pronunciations that happen to be close to standard or RP ones. But the reason they do this may not be to acquire the 'standard', but rather to move away from the most highly localised usage, containing as it often does alternations, overlaps and near-mergers that normalised varieties avoid. In other words it may be a simplification pattern in which women are primarily involved, with social class as the secondary 'affected' variable.

A function of female speech differentiation therefore may be to promote norms which are not necessarily those of institutional standards, but which are less localised and less diffuse (Le Page 1975) than those that males commonly prefer. It may even be that in so doing they create the norms that we perceive as characteristic of institutional standard languages. The supra-local norms diffused by females may assist wider communication outside small communities and promote geographical diffusion. It may be that females are motivated to fulfil this normalising role because of their function as child-rearers: it is generally females and not males who interact most with small children, and it may be instinctive to provide a supra-local model for children. I hope to pursue these suggestions elsewhere: for the moment, note that this interpretation of the female role gives a very different picture of the diffusion of changes from that of the status model proposed by Labov (1972c:22), in which SEC groups are said to aspire to the speech of the group immediately above them on the hierarchy. Thus, the young socially mobile middle-class Belfast males who are adopting the simplified /ɛ/ pattern may be seen as acquiring it, not from the class above them, but from older females of their own or lower SEC - perhaps even from their working-class mothers.

As for the diachronic dimension, we may further hypothesise that females (with their normalising influence) will be found to lead at certain stages of linguistic changes in progress. For example, their influence may be important in the later stages of a merger or restructuring process - in suppressing residual alternations. Similarly, they may be strongly involved in the rapid 'middle' stage of lexical diffusion, during which an unstable alternation is largely removed. In the relatively new industrial city of Belfast, females certainly seem to be at the forefront of establishing normalised forms, and bringing this unstable contact variety to maturity, i.e. to what Le Page (1975) calls a 'focused' state.

It is appropriate to conclude by recalling some of the points made earlier in the paper, and attempting to draw the strands together. The projects were set up in order to get access to orderly heterogeneity in language in the belief that such investigations can

contribute to substantial theoretical issues. Prior phonological knowledge of quite a detailed kind was necessary to help to locate those linguistic variables which would be of most interest in a one-class study (in the first project), and which would address matters of special theoretical interest, e.g. merger and lexical diffusion, and on the social side, the interaction and intersection of social variables additional to social class. The methods used did in fact lead to conclusions about the shape of the speech community which differ from the earlier status model. An essential perception underlying the approach was the knowledge that Belfast, unlike New York City, is what Johnston has since called a 'divergent-dialect' area in which there are probably hundreds of socially significant linguistic variables that are often easily audible, but difficult to access systematically and difficult to choose between. The suggestion made late in the paper about the functions of sex-differentiation in linguistic change should not of course be interpreted as devaluing other kinds of social variable: on the contrary, the question is how these social variables (including, e.g. social status and social network) are to be interpreted, both in relation to one another and in relation to language. In the long run, we are interested in the competence of individual speakers in manipulating the resources of linguistic variation and promoting linguistic change.

[Footnote]

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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS; AN ANALYSIS OF THE DISCOURSE STRUCTURE OF INTERVIEWS

This paper is about an aspect of sociolinguistic field-work methodology. It is an analysis, within the general framework provided by those who have studied discourse structure, of that traditional investigative tool, the face-to-face interview. Although such an analysis might prove useful at the practical 'coal-face' level, the main point I would wish to make, preliminary to the main analysis, is that data collected by interview methods is often structurally limited in various ways. Thus, field-work methods ultimately have a considerable bearing upon the kind of data obtained, and consequently upon the kind of linguistic generalisation which the analyst feels able to make. To illustrate the extent to which fieldwork method affects data, we shall look at some examples. The first is a phonological one, drawn from our socio-linguistic work in Belfast.

A limited sub-group of lexical items consisting of words such as meat, beat, beast, heat, leave, cheap, beak (and an unspecified number of others) alternate between a high front vowel and a lower realisation. We shall refer to this as the MEAT class. The first pronunciation involves assigning the items to the /i/ class - thus rendering the first two homophonous with meet and beet. The second pronunciation, which is quite uncommon, highly stigmatized and limited to low status speakers, approx-imates to (but is not identical, with) items like mate and bait. I shall refer to these for convenience as MEET and MATE class pronunciations respectively.

The alternation is of considerable theoretical interest, as it sheds light on a notorious historical problem of an apparent merger in early Modern English and subsequent reseparation between words of the MEAT and MATE classes; later still, MEAT words merged with the MEET class, giving the modern standard pattern. It has generally been thought by Ulster dialectologists who commented on the alternation that Belfast speakers had access to two systems as shown in Table 1 system A reflecting an historically prior state of the language:

Table 1

	A	B
1.	MEET	MEET MEAT
2.	MEAT MATE	MATE

There were two problems involved in using even extended interviews for collecting data which might shed light on the phonological patterns of these intersecting word classes. The first was that very many speakers did not use the A type system at all, and that when it was used MEAT class pronunciations occurred only in spontaneous speech. They did not occur in informal interviews, and even on tapes collected using rather more radical methods of eliciting spontaneous speech they occurred not much more than once per hour, on average.

The second problem was that the researchers were not convinced that system A posited in Table 1 was correct; for example, the fieldworker was invited to 'Come in and get some heat' by one speaker, who in the last item used a long high-mid monophthong [e:]. A few seconds later the item hate occurred with a centring glide [e͡ə] which, far from being homophonous with heat seemed to be phonetically rather distinct. Thus an alternative system A was postulated:

Table 2

	A		B
1.	MEET	1.	MEET MEAT
2.	MEAT		
3.	MATE	2.	MATE

Clearly, if the state of affairs represented by Table 2 is correct, considerable light is thrown on the historical problem of the apparently unmerged and subsequently remerged MEAT class; the answer is that the first merger did not take place at all. To follow through this hunch, attempts were made to elicit from a Belfast speaker a list of pronunciations of alternative MEAT class items 'the way they say them in Belfast' together with a list of non-alternating MATE class items. Although the speaker understood perfectly what was required, it was plain that he viewed the two classes as having merged. This did not surprise the researchers who

had encountered jokes which depended on MEAT/MATE homophony and contemporary vernacular poems whose rhymes seemed to confirm the reported merger:

> The roost is next and for the nest you can take a seat
> Before proceeding further to the good oul' Golden Gate
> (Hammond 1978: 48)

A full account of the structural and historical issues, and of the methods ultimately used to confirm the hypothesis that a merger of the MEET and MATE classes had not taken place in spontaneous speech may be found in Milroy and Harris (1980). But the point at issue here is that the data needed for resolution of a substantial theoretical problem could not be collected by interview methods. Those vernacular alternants which were recorded nearly all occurred in peer conversations and only very rarely in speech addressed directly to the fieldworker, and elicitation by means of minimal pair tests was no more successful. Consequently, if such data had been used, any account of the subsystems available to these speakers would have been the inaccurate one shown in Table 1. Parallel accounts of similar fieldwork problems in eliciting data to investigate a number of other falsely reported mergers can be found in Labov, Yaeger and Steiner 1972, 229-254; Trudgill also discusses the similar cases of fear/fair and toe/too in Norwich (Trudgill 1974: 120-129).

Similar points might be made in relation to syntactic data. For example, the characteristic discourse structure of the interview very obviously inhibits the emergence of interrogative constructions which are plentiful in spontaneous speech. One of the variables studied by Cheshire (who used a participant observer method) in the speech of Reading adolescents was tag questions. Tag questions do not usually function in discourse as requests for information, but rather are conducive forms seeking confirmation of a previously stated proposition:

(1) She's here already, isn't she?
(2) This is your book, right?

Since their main function is to compel a (normally minimal) response from the addressee, it is highly unlikely that they will be used spontaneously by a speaker whose perceived social role is to respond to questions put by an interviewer.

A rather more subtle example of the interrelationship between elicitation method and structural characteristics of the data comes again from Belfast. One construction studied, the so called hot-news perfect

(McCawley 1971) is unlikely to occur in question-answer sessions since it indicates an event in the immediate past;

(3) A young man's only after getting shot out there [St.E. 'A young man has just got shot out there.'].

Commenting in his study of the Hiberno-English perfect on these discourse and pragmatic constraints on higher level syntactic variation, Harris (1984: 316) makes the additional point that tokens of the hot-news perfect are absent from Irish rural data which was collected by formal interview methods in the Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English. Conversely, examples such as (3) turned up in the Belfast urban sociolinguistic projects which utilised participant-observation techniques to gain access to vernacular speech.

Assuming that an interview format sharply constrains the structural types of data which are available for analysis, we move on now to examine its characteristic structure.

The interview as a speech event

An interview in Western society is a clearly defined and quite common speech event to which a formal speech style is appropriate. It generally involves dyadic interaction between strangers, with the roles of the two participants being quite clearly defined. Turn-taking rights are not equally distributed as they are in conversational interaction between peers. Rather, one participant (the interviewer) controls the discourse in the sense that he both selects topics and chooses the form of questions. The interviewee for his part, by agreeing to be interviewed, has contracted to answer these questions co-operatively. From his point of view, a co-operative response is often one which is maximally brief and relevant (see Levinson 1983: for a good discussion of work on this 'co-operative principle' in conversation). Once the interviewer has obtained a response, a further obligation rests upon him to follow it up with a further question. People are generally quite well aware of the behaviour appropriate to these roles, and of their implications in terms of the unequal distribution of rights to talk.

In a discussion of fieldwork techniques, Labov has argued that the pattern of these power relations within the interview setting is one of the major problems which the fieldworker must tackle to achieve a 'favorable interactive position' (1981: 15); he suggests that the interviewer's social dominance 'stems from association

with the dominating social class'. While this may be partly true, the dominance deriving from asymmetrical participant roles, giving rise to a characteristic discourse structure, is also crucial. The relationship of these roles - that is of 'questioner' and 'respondent' - to the distribution of power and advantage in the world outside the interview setting is at best indirect; the example from Wolfson (1982), quoted on p.58 below, is a striking instance of a mismatch between dominance deriving from discourse roles, and real world dominance. Thus, it is perhaps more fruitful to concentrate in the first instance on exploring the implications of these asymmetrical discourse roles, rather than following Labov's suggestion of directly adjusting the relative social positions of interviewer and interviewee.

We may begin by noting that direct questions - that is, requests for information which are syntactically realised as interrogatives - are rather uncommon in everyday interactions between peers. The intrinsically threatening and challenging nature of direct questions is discussed in detail by Goody (1978) who argues that where interactants stand in a socially asymmetrical relationship to each other, a direct question will nearly always be viewed as a mechanism of social control, or as a command, and seldom as a simple request for information. As Goody shows, communities vary in their sensitivity to the implications of asking a direct question - she analyses a teaching situation in the African Gonja community where, because of the relative statuses of pupil and teacher, it is quite inappropriate for pupils to seem to challenge teachers by questioning them directly. Hymes (1972: 279) notes further instances of culturally determined interrogative behaviour.

In Britain, the clearest examples of settings where questions have a control function are police interrogation rooms, courtrooms and classrooms, and it is data collected in these settings which allows us to observe most clearly the asymmetrical patterns of control over the discourse associated with a question/answer structure. Therefore, to illustrate the point which is being made here, two exchanges will be discussed, one from a courtroom and one from a classroom.

The following extract (A) is taken from a transcription of a recording of a case heard at the Arrears and Maintenance division of a magistrates court and cited in S. Harris (1984). The participants are a magistrate (M) and a defendant (KH).

(A) M: .../are you um/...are you going to make an offer/...uh...uh.../ to discharge this debt (1)
KH: /Would you in my position/ (2)

M: I/...I'm not here to answer questions/...you answer my question (3)

KH: One rule for one and one for another (4)

M: /Can I have an answer to my question/...please/ the question is/are you prepared to make an offer to the Court/to discharge/this debt/ (5)

KH: /What sort of minimal offer would be required/ (6)

M: It's not a bargaining situation/it's a straight question/Mr H/can I have the answer (7)

KH: /Well I'll just pay the court a pound annually/ (8)

M: /That's not acceptable to us/ (9)

KH: /What would be acceptable to the Court/ (10)

M: No we don't find/...uh...we want a sensible offer Mr H (11)

Clearly, power and authority are here asymmetrically distributed between the participants, and this asymmetry is reflected in their discourse rights and privileges, as comments by both clearly reveal. The magistrate several times emphasises his power to pose questions which compel a response - a privilege not available to KH ((3), (5), (7)). The defendant for his part is aware of this asymmetry and of the discourse role associated with his powerless position (4). The various resistance strategies which he adopts are not part of our concern here.

Extract (B) is taken from a stretch of classroom discourse. At this point the teacher has just played to the class a tape of a man with an unfamiliar accent with a view to discussing reactions to it with the children. The italics are mine.

(B) TEACHER: What kind of a person do you think he is? Do you - What are you laughing at? (1)

PUPIL: Nothing. (2)

TEACHER: Pardon? (3)

PUPIL: Nothing. (4)

TEACHER: You're laughing at nothing, nothing at all? (5)

PUPIL: No. (6)

It's funny really 'cos they don't think as as though they were there they might not like it and it sounds rather a pompous attitude. (7)

(Coulthard 1977: 108)

The interrogative 'what are you laughing at,' can be interpreted either as a request for information or as a directive to stop laughing. In the classroom, because of the proscribed nature of the activity and the teacher's power to enforce the proscription, it is often the latter, and the pupil has interpreted it in this way.

The teacher has to work quite hard to convince him that (1) is, in fact, a request for information.

A discussion of the factors associated with mutual rights and obligations which lead a participant to interpret an interrogative as a directive may be found in Labov and Fanshel (1977).

Continuing with our analysis of direct questions, we may note that the pupil's (and the teacher's) difficulty is part of a more general point that depending on situational context, utterances can be interpreted in a wide range of ways. Thus, given certain rights and obligations holding between participants, and certain contextual conditions, a declarative such as

(1) it's dinner time and I'm hungry

can be interpreted as a request/command to prepare dinner. Under other conditions it may be interpreted as a statement with no particular directive force (see Levinson 1983 for a clear account of these general principles). A clear one-to-one relationship between interrogatives and questions or declaratives and statements cannot be assumed to hold, so that an utterance like (1) which may be analysed syntactically as a declarative sentence may, in context, function as a request for action or for information. For example, a response such as

(2) it'll be ready in twenty minutes

or a zero verbal response and a movement in the direction of the kitchen would be perfectly appropriate. So also would a non-compliant response like

(3) Would you stop nagging me.

Following Brown and Levinson's (1978) argument that an important (and universal) function of indirect directives like (1) is to let both speakers and addressees off the hook thus offering some protection to their face, we can observe that the range of possible responses to (1) is much greater than, for example, those permitted by the magistrate in extract A. The addressee might acknowledge the directive force of the utterance with either a compliant or a non-compliant response as exemplified by (2) or (3). Alternatively, he may refuse to acknowledge any directive force by opting for a response such as (4), (5) or (6).

(4) Are you really?
(5) Yes, you do seem to need rather a lot of food.
(6) Mmm.

Assuming that his intention was to request dinner, the original speaker might similarly exploit the functional ambiguity of an indirect directive like (1). In the manner of all Machiavellian conversationalists, he can allow the directive force of (1) to stand if it meets with a compliant response like (2). If on the other hand it meets with a vigorously non-compliant response like (3) he might continue as follows:

(7) I wasn't asking you to do anything. I was just saying I was hungry.

The general point which springs from this discussion is that the direct questioning which is characteristic of interviews tends to leave little leeway for this kind of multiple interpretation (and manipulation) by the addressee. It is incumbent on him to respond, in a manner specified by the interviewer, to questions such as the following (taken from Labov 1981: 10).

(8) Do you play the numbers around here?

(9) Did you ever get blamed for something you didn't do?

(10) What did (do) fights start about around here?

Although it is open to him to adopt resistance strategies of one sort or another (such as replying to (8) and (9) with a simple yes or no), he is nevertheless committed to formulating a relevant response to a question on a topic selected by the interviewer. Not to respond would involve either committing himself to what Sacks has called a 'noticeable absence' (ie a zero response) or an overtly non-compliant response such as

(11) I don't really want to answer your question.

Either option commits him to being openly unco-operative. This lack of scope available to an addressee who had contracted an obligation to provide responses to direct questions helps to explain why they are so generally associated with the unequal distribution of power and, as we shall see so frequently countered with brief responses. But it does not follow from this analysis that direct questions do not occur in spontaneous speech during peer interactions; they plainly do. But it seems that they are asked and receive direct responses only under a sharply limited set of circumstances. Thus, Wilson (1981) argues that in conversations between peers, people do not normally answer questions directly if the reason for asking the question is not reasonably clear. A question such as

(12) What is the time please?

when addressed to a stranger in the street will normally receive a direct answer as it is generally accepted as self evident that persons have a number of good reasons for requesting this information. However, a question like

(13) Have you got red underpants on?

addressed also to a stranger, is unlikely to elicit the information requested. Quite apart from the taboo nature of the subject matter, Wilson argues, such a question would not receive an answer unless a reason for asking it were given such as

(14) I work for an underwear firm, and I'm carrying out a survey.

Wilson suggests that in everyday conversation various strategies are used by conversationalists to locate a questioner's intention if the reason for the question is not clear. These involve (amongst others) responding with a request for further information as to the questioner's intention, or answering the question and then requesting further information. Thus, we have the following sequences:

(15) A: What age is your mother?
B: Why?

(16) A: Do you feel alright?
B: Yes sure. Why do you ask?

(Wilson 1981: 67)

Wilson's work, taken along with Goody's arguments on the 'control' function of direct questions, suggests very strongly that a chain of question-answer sequences such as those which occur in interviews are very atypical of conversations between peers. Clearly, this point has a number of implications for the conduct of sociolinguistic interviews.

First, individuals who are being questioned will seldom produce large volumes of speech in their replies. This may be in part a consequence of the 'co-operative principle', in the sense that they are attemptng to comply by responding relevantly and briefly. But sometimes they may perceive questions as a 'test' of some sort, a perception springing from the common control function of questions in asymmetrical situations.

Second, the well-defined nature of the interview as a speech event along with the associated social and

discourse roles of the participants can make it very difficult for the interviewer to 'fudge' the nature of the event in an attempt to encourage the interviewee to relax and produce larger volumes of speech. Wolfson (1982) has criticised Labov's suggestion that fieldworkers make interviews as informal as possible by adopting a position of 'lower authority and lesser consequence in the conversation' (Labov 1981: 15). She argues that this is likely to lead to confusion, embarrassment and even hostility, since interviewees expect interviewers to ask them a series of clear questions.

Third, if the interviewee perceives himself as being of higher status than the interviewer, he might also perceive an allocation of discourse roles which assigns the role of questioner to the lower status participant as strikingly inappropriate. This is what appears to have happened in the following exchange between a female student interviewer and a successful businessman - a restaurant owner. Both he and the waitress were a generation older than the student interviewer. Wolfson reports the exchange as follows:

> After answering a few questions about his birthplace, education and opinions about life in Philadelphia, the subject was led into the beginning of a conversation but suddenly he interrupted by saying:
>
> Owner: "Let me ask you something. Are you from Philadelphia?"
> Int: "Yes."
> Owner: "Where were you born?"
> Waitress: (laughs) "Now he's gonna question you'"
> Int: "Second and the Boulevard."
> Owner: "Second and the Boulevard. uh huh. Do you find Philadelphia different?"
> Int: "Yeah."
> Owner: "You do? In what respect?"
> Int: "I think people used to be a lot friendlier."
> Owner: "Well, I think conditions have made it that way."
>
> (Wolfson 1982: 68)

The owner has reversed discourse roles, placing himself in control of the questions while the waitress appears to be aware of the significance of this role-reversal, commenting on it as soon as it is apparent that the owner is embarking upon a series of questions. Moreover, although she does not make quite this point, Wolfson appears to view the owner's adoption of the role of interviewer as a violation of the fieldworker's discourse

rights, as is suggested by her choice of the term 'interrupt' to characterise the role reversal.

A parallel to the Wolfson interview may be found in Briggs (1984). After a series of disastrously uninformative interviews with the Lopezes, a wood carver and his wife in Cordova, northern New Mexico, Briggs reports a successful set of interviews with another 'community elder'.

> He agreed to both the interviews and their tape-recording. When I returned from my car, Mr Cordova asked me 'Now what is it that you wanted to know?' I provided him with one of the questions that had fared so badly with the Lopezes. He then proceeded to produce a long, flowing narrative of the local carving industry.
>
> (Briggs 1984: 23)

Although Briggs attributes his success with Mr Cordova and his failure with the Lopezes to different factors altogether (cross-cultural differences in conversational structure), it may be significant that by addressing to Briggs the question 'Now what is it that you wanted to know?', Mr Cordova has, to some extent, reversed the roles of interviewer and interviewee in such a way as to be congruous with the deference due to him as a knowledgeable older man. In this case, the role-reversal apparently worked to the fieldworker's advantage; but the Wolfson interview suggests not only that it sometimes will not, but also that such a role reversal can not easily be manipulated as a standard fieldwork technique.

A further implication of the interpersonal difficulties involved in direct questioning is that direct questions are sometimes not recognised by a community as an appropriate way of seeking information. A particularly clear example of this may be found in an account by Eades (1982) of attempts to obtain information in an Aboriginal community in South East Queensland. Eades found that when questioned by means of an interrogative sentence, Aborigines were usually 'confused, dysfluent or non-compliant'. However, questions in the form of declaratives which could be marked by intonation or by tags, were more successful. The following exchanges exemplify this point.

(17) Fieldworker: Were you very young then?
A: Eh?
Fieldworker: You were very young?
A: I was about 14.

(18) Fieldworker: Your husband was a Batjala man?
A: He was a Batjala.

Fieldworker: And where was he from again?
A: Beg pardon?
Fieldworker: He was from further south, was he?
A: He's, he's from here, not far from X station.

(Eades 1982: 65)

In the second sequence the interviewer began with an appropriate question type, reverting then inappropriately to the interrogative type, which was acceptable in white middle class society but not to the Aboriginal communities. The response 'beg pardon' reflected the inappropriate formulation of the question, while a subsequent rephrasing in a form acceptable to the addressee elicited an informative reply. Eades g7es on to argue that the two types of question differ in more than their syntactic form, and that the strategy of presenting known or inferred information for verification or further elaboration reflects sociocultural aspects of Aboriginal society. Similar interactional patterns are reported by Hymes (1975) in her study of the Yakima-speaking American Indian community at Warm Springs, Central Oregon (Hymes 1975:31). More generally, Briggs notes that his successful interview in Cordova (see above) was with a bilingual speaker who 'had acquired not only the phonological, syntactic and semantic systems of American English, but...had mastered its conversational structure as well' (Briggs 1984). The speaker's wife, who was monolingual, responded to questioning in the same uninformative fashion as the monolingual Lopezes with whom Briggs had conducted a number of unsuccessful interviews.

Returning to Eades' account of the inappropriacy of direct questioning in Aboriginal communities, we may note an interesting analogue to this sociolinguistic fact in the core structure of Australian languages. Dixon (1980) reports that they generally possess a set of forms that have indefinite or interrogative sense (or both). Thus, bilingual informants will often translate a sentence which has, say, ŋaandu (Warrgamay or Ngiyambaa for who/someone) in the subject position in a transitive sentence as 'someone hit me - who did it?' Such a translation reflects the absence of separate interrogative and indefinite forms, and indicates simultaneously an indefinite specification and a request for further information (Dixon 1980: 372).

While direct questioning in western societies does not present the same difficulties as it does in Queensland Aboriginal society, or in Warm Springs, or in Gonja society as reported by Goody, it is nevertheless clear that it needs to be used generally with some care

and circumspection. It is probably true that even within the British Isles communities vary in their tolerance of direct questioning; for example, I have the clear impression that direct questioning as a means of seeking information is less acceptable in Irish urban communities than in English ones, and less acceptable still in Irish rural communities. Certainly, we should not lose sight of the asymmetrical distribution of power suggested by the roles of questioner and respondent; it has been discussed here at some length to demonstrate its far-reaching implications for the use of the interview as a linguistic fieldwork method.

Acknowledging the general problem, Labov has suggested that the 'basic counter-strategy of the sociolinguistic interview is to acknowledge the position of the interviewer a a learner, in a position of lower authority than the person he is talking to (Labov 1981: 15). The role of the question-answer discourse structure in encoding the original asymmetrical relationship is not discussed, but various techniques are suggested for achieving a redress of balance. These range from adjustment of the interviewer's own (possibly somewhat bookish) speech style, to sensitive monitoring of the subject's level of interest. In practice, most sociolinguistic interviewers rely on fudging the speech event to the extent that speakers 'wander off the point' - i.e. select and initiate their own topics. And since it is plain that talkative speakers <u>are</u> frequently encountered who respond volubly even within an interview framework (particularly after some time has elapsed), the conduct of an interview is not always as frustrating as the discussion in this paper might imply.

It is however assumed here that a good data-collection method is one which is usable not only with friends or acquaintances of the interviewer or persons with whom he or she proves to have a personal or social affinity. We need to arrive at as reliable a specification as possible of the factors which favour or inhibit the collection of a large amount of data from as broad a social base as possible. We must not lose sight of the fact that before Labov began to publish accounts of his innovatory fieldwork techniques which embodied this principle (Labov 1966; Labov <u>et al</u> 1968), the data bases of many studies of language in use were characterised by a very narrow range of speaker types. For example, traditional dialect surveys characteristically tapped only a small, unrepresentative sub-group, while the survey of English usage discussed by Greenbaum and Quirk (1970) appears to be based mainly on the language of university students. We can broaden our own data base successfully only by discovering how different groups respond to our information-seeking activities.

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SECTION PAPERS

SECTION A

HIBERNO-ENGLISH AND THE NEW WORLD

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC PATTERNING IN A NEW-WORLD DIALECT OF HIBERNO-ENGLISH: THE SPEECH OF ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND [1]

Introduction

The former British colony of Newfoundland constitutes one of the earliest settled parts of the new world, with permanent settlement dating back to the early seventeenth century. The geographical origins of European immigrants to the island were extremely concentrated (see, for example, Handcock 1977): the two chief sources were southwestern England (particularly the counties of Dorset, Devon, Somerset and Hampshire) and southeastern Ireland (chiefly the counties of Waterford, Wexford and Kilkenny). As Figure 1 indicates, the Irish tended to concentrate on the Avalon peninsula in the southeast portion of Newfoundland; the remainder of the island was eventually populated largely by the English, although occasional pockets of Irish settlement were also to spring up.

As in the old world, the Irish and English enjoyed at best somewhat uneasy relations in the new. The considerable amount of Irish immigration to Newfoundland seems at times to have given the English governing class some cause for concern. Clearly, in any case, the Irish enjoyed a relatively low social status (cf. Foster 1982), and it was to an English social and linguistic norm that the upwardly mobile of the British colony of Newfoundland aspired. This was exhibited in a number of ways, one of them being the tendency for the wealthy of the colony to educate their children in England, a practice which persisted until quite recently.

The English and Irish have maintained, even to the present day, a fairly high degree of ethnic segregation within Newfoundland. The geographical separation resulting from original settlement patterns was enhanced by the fact that there has been comparatively little

in-migration from outside the island; Statistics Canada census figures for 1971 revealed that less than 5% of the population had been born outside Newfoundland. Indeed, until recent years, there has not been a good deal of migration within, much of the population having remained in the tiny outports or villages settled by their ancestors in order to pursue their chief source of livelihood, the inshore fishery. Further, unlike much of the rest of North America, Newfoundland retained a good deal of religious segregation, as a result of the power of the churches in maintaining to this day a denominational educational system, whereby those of Irish ancestry for the most part attended Roman Catholic schools, and those of southwestern English ancestry, the Protestant school system. Indeed, in the face of the lack of knowledge exhibited by many Newfoundlanders as to their precise ancestry, religion is probably the best present-day marker of ethnic background. For example, the 1971 census reveals that the villages of the southern Avalon, which of all parts of the island received the heaviest concentration of Irish settlement, still had a Roman Catholic population ranging between 80% and 100%.

In spite of the fairly circumscribed areas of Irish settlement, several observers of Newfoundland English (e.g., Story 1982) have noted a certain amount of dialect levelling within the province. It is clear that some Hiberno-English (henceforth, HE) forms have spread well outside areas of original Irish settlement, one of the most noticeable being the use of the Irish "after" perfect as a generalized perfect form.

The speech of St. John's, capital and largest city of Newfoundland, constitutes the focus of the present paper. St. John's is situated on the Avalon peninsula, at the northern periphery of Irish settlement concentration. Since World War II, the population of the city has increased considerably, in part due to an influx of settlers of English ancestry from other areas of the island. The paper examines five features of present-day St. John's English which are of HE origin, namely: 1) a stop variant of the interdental fricative /ð/; 2) a clear [ɫ] variant of postvocalic /l/; 3) a monophthongal variant of the mid tense vowel /o/; 4) a rounded, retracted variant of the vowel /ʌ/; and 5) a slit fricative variant of postvocalic, especially word-final, /t/. Several of these features, of course, are not exclusively HE in origin. Thus stop variants of

the interdental fricative /ð/ (as well as of its voiceless counterpart /θ/) are also to be found in certain of the speech varieties of West Country English which are spoken in what would have been the source dialect area of immigrants to Newfoundland; in such speech varieties, however, their distribution is considerably more restricted than in the English dialects of Ireland. Interestingly, in all non-standard present-day Newfoundland speech varieties, irrespective of origin, interdental fricatives are typically realized as stops. Likewise, monophthongal variants of the tense mid vowels are also characteristic of certain dialect areas of Newfoundland settled almost exclusively by those of West Country English stock (e.g., Colbourne 1982).

Results are derived from a sociolinguistic survey of St. John's English that is essentially Labovian in nature. The survey, that is, takes advantage of such by now well-known techniques as the use of stratified random sampling; the utilization of an interview procedure designed to capture a range of styles, from a formal Word List and Reading Passage to casual speech or Free Conversation; and implementation of statistical analysis to test the validity of the social groupings used in the study.

Figure 2 illustrates the composition of the 120-subject St. John's sample in terms of the independent (social) variables of age, sex, and socio-economic status. [2] A fourth independent variable - religion - was also included in the sample design, given its importance as a marker of subjects' ethnic background.

The aim of the present paper is to outline the social correlates in St. John's English of the five HE linguistic features under investigation. That is, what social patterns, if any, do such features display in present-day St. John's speech? A number of hypotheses readily come to mind. Firstly, as Newfoundland in general has been subject to the increasing influence of standard North American speech, especially since its Confederation with Canada in 1949, it is to be expected that HE features will be less prevalent in the speech of younger generations, particularly of those who have grown up in post-war, post-Confederation years. Secondly, since Irish vs. English ethnic origin has at least until fairly recently had socio-economic overtones, it is quite possible that such features are

socio-economically stratified among present-day St. John's subjects - with of course the concomitant sex and stylistic stratification that has emerged in other urban sociolinguistic studies (e.g., Labov 1966, Trudgill 1974). Thirdly, it would appear that HE linguistic features are not restricted to the St. John's population of Irish descent, but have spread to other residents of the city. In other words, the variable of religion, used in the present study as a marker of ethnicity, might well prove the least significant of the four social variables under investigation.

Results

In terms of the social stratification which they exhibit in present-day St. John's speech, the five HE features to be examined share a certain number of similarities. To summarize, virtually all yield the expected age stratification, non-standard [3] HE variants being associated significantly more with older rather than younger subjects of the sample. Nevertheless, while the features under investigation are all to some extent related to subjects' socio-economic status, only certain of them display in present-day St. John's speech a social class stratification that is statistically significant.

Two variables of the five examined proved to be linked particularly closely to the socio-economic status of subjects. These are the voiced interdental fricative /ð/ and postvocalic /l/. Table 1 presents means in Free Conversation or casual speech style for the usage of the non-standard variant of each of these two variables, in terms of social class groupings. Here as elsewhere in this paper, the results presented are based on the statistical test known as analysis of variance (Anova), which assesses whether the variance (or spread of linguistic usage scores around the mean) exhibited by members of any one of the social groups in question is sufficiently similar to differentiate the group significantly [4] from other social groupings.

As Table 1 clearly demonstrates, the prediction that non-standard HE features would be associated significantly more frequently with the lower social classes of the sample is borne out. Both the alveolar stop variant of /ð/ and the clear variant of /l/ are used by far most often by SES group 5 (largely unskilled labourers), to a lesser extent by the middle and lower middle classes of groups 3 and 4, and least of all by

the upper and upper middle classes of groups 1 and 2. That these two features are stigmatized in the St. John's context is confirmed by examination of male and female scores. Table 2 indicates that both of the non-standard variants are used significantly more frequently by male rather than female subjects of the sample, in the fashion of stigmatized features investigated in other urban contexts. Finally, Table 2 reveals that subjects' age also affects the usage of the two non-standard HE features under discussion. While age is not too important in the case of the interdental fricative /ð/, it is highly significant with respect to clear [l]. Thus there is a sharp stratification between clear [l] usage on the part of the older two subject groups, on the one hand, and, on the other, that of the two younger groups, representing the post-war generation whose speech has been considerably influenced by the mainland North American model. In other words, while the usage of an alveolar stop variant of /ð/ does not seem to be declining substantially in St. John's speech, use of the clear [l] feature obviously is.

Tables 1 and 2, incidentally, represent only one of the non-standard stop realizations that is assumed by the voiced interdental fricative in present-day St. John's speech. In St. John's English, as in other HE dialects, a stop realization of an interdental fricative may display a dental point of articulation. The two Tables have shown, however, that in St. John's speech the alveolar stop is a reasonably frequently occurring variant in casual speech style; this would of course result in a certain amount of neutralization of the contrast between interdental fricative and alveolar stop phonemes. A dental stop realization, on the contrary, appears not to be used extensively, constituting only approximately 6% of total overall usage. Further, this variant is of virtually no sociolinguistic interest, since it exhibits little in the way of social stratification.

Our examination of the two HE features found in Tables 1 and 2, then, suggests that such features are socially stigmatized in St. John's speech, particularly in light of the significantly different usage of non-standard HE variants by subjects representing different socio-economic strata. The remaining three variables to be examined, however, differ from the first group of features in that their usage is not primarily associated with the socio-economic status of speakers. Rather, this group of HE variants is more obviously

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linked with subjects' age and sex. Interestingly, while one age/sex stratificational pattern predominates, the three HE features of this second group by no means display an identical social distribution.

Tables 3 and 4 represent male/female mean usage - as well as that of the four age groups used in the study - of non-standard HE variants of the variables /o/ and /ʌ/, respectively. Three speech styles are represented: a formal Word List; a somewhat less formal text, or Reading Passage; and casual speech style, or Free Conversation. Table 3 reveals that the HE monophthongal variant of /o/ does not occur extensively among the St. John's population as a whole, and that usage of this variant does not differ greatly from one speech style to another. Nevertheless, the Table demonstrates that the feature is clearly most closely associated with the over-55 subjects of the sample, rather than with younger age groups; likewise, it is used significantly more by male rather than by female subjects. Table 4 shows a markedly similar social distribution for the rounded retracted HE variant of /ʌ/, [ɤ], which occurs with greater frequency than does monophthongal /o/, and also exhibits more in the way of stylistic stratification.

Tables 3 and 4 suggest, then, that the non-standard HE variants under discussion display social correlates similar to those noted for the features represented in Tables 1 and 2 - that is, their usage characterizes the speech of males rather than females, and older rather than younger subjects. Unlike the HE variants earlier examined, however, monophthongal /o/ and retracted /ʌ/ seem to function primarily as markers of older male speech, and no longer serve as socio-economic markers in the same fashion as do the two variables earlier examined. The close association of monophthongal /o/ and retracted /ʌ/ with age and sex is manifested in two ways. First of all, as Table 5 indicates, significant age by sex interactions occurred for both of these variables. The mean usage of the various age by sex groups listed in Table 5 reveals that the two HE variants are used by far most frequently by the males of the sample aged 55 and over. In fact, there is very little usage of monophthongal /o/, in any of the three speech styles, on the part of subjects aged under 55, irrespective of their sex. Secondly, for both variables, socio-economic status proved significant ($p < .01$) only in casual, and not in formal, speech style. Indeed, while not represented in Table 5, cell means based on both age and SES reveal that by far the most frequent

users of monophthongal /o/ and retracted /ʌ/ are the over-55 SES group 5 (or working class) subjects. For the /o/ variable at least, a genuine socio-economic stratification occurs only among the oldest age groups.

The four HE features examined to this point are similar in that they are considerably more characteristic of older rather than younger speakers, and of males rather than females. They differ one from the other simply as to the extent to which they are socio-economically stratified in present-day St. John's speech. The fifth and final of the HE linguistic features to be examined in this paper is unique in that it proved to be the only case in which females exhibit more conservative linguistic behaviour than do males. Only in this case, in other words, do females tend to retain more than do males an HE feature which is not to be found in the North American speech variety that has become the standard model in post-war years. The feature in question is a slit fricative variant of /t/. As pointed out by Wells (1982:429), this variant may well occur in all non-northern dialects of Hiberno-English, at all social levels, in postvocalic non-preconsonantal position. The same feature is found in Irish-settled areas of Newfoundland, including St. John's, where it occurs most frequently in postvocalic word-final position, particularly when this is prepausal.

As Table 6 demonstrates, the slit fricative resembles all other HE features examined in that, in the present-day St. John's context, it is significantly stratified by age; thus it is most characteristic of the older speakers of the sample. In all other respects, however, it does not exhibit the general pattern which emerged in the case of the four variables previously examined. First of all - although not represented in the Table - it displays absolutely no significant socio-economic stratification. Secondly, its sex stratification is just the opposite from that noted for the other variables; Table 6 shows that the slit fricative variant of /t/ is clearly more of a female than a male marker. This lack of stratification by socio-economic level, plus the lack of association with male speakers, would suggest that the slit fricative is not a stigmatized feature in St. John's speech. Such a conclusion is supported by the stylistic distributions of Table 6. While there is not much difference in usage between the reading styles and Free Conversation, what there is suggests that the slit fricative is in fact at least as characteristic of formal as it is of informal

style. Consequently, this variant is indeed the only one of the five HE features examined that has not emerged as to some extent stigmatized in present-day St. John's speech.

Conclusion

To summarize, two of the predictions made earlier in this paper have indeed proven to be accurate. First of all, the age of subjects has emerged as highly significant in the St. John's speech community, in that the non-standard HE features examined are considerably more characteristic of the over-35 subjects of the sample (and particularly of subjects aged 55 and over). Clearly, the speech of the under-35 subjects, who grew up in the post-war and post-Confederation era, has been influenced by the general North American model to a much greater extent than has the speech of their parents and grandparents. Secondly, four of the five linguistic features examined are also socio-economically stratified, in that they are used most frequently by lower middle and working class subjects. Yet while two of these (/ð/ and /l/) are significantly stratified by SES throughout the sample as a whole, such a stratification is restricted in the case of the remaining features (/o/ and /ʌ/) to the two older age groups. This would indicate, for these last two features, that change in the direction of the North American standard has been led by younger speakers, largely irrespective of their socio-economic level.

Up to now, however, the third issue raised by the paper has not been addressed, namely whether HE features are restricted to SJ residents of Irish descent, or have spread to the population as a whole. This question may be answered by examining the significance of the independent social variable of religion, which was used in the present study as a marker of ethnic origin. Religion in fact proved to be by far the least important of the four social variables investigated. It proved significant in the case of only one of the five HE features under examination: clear [l]. [5] Table 7 indicates that the Roman Catholics of the sample use significantly more of the Irish clear [l] variant than do the Protestants, in all three speech styles. In short, then, although - because of the lack of total correlation between religion and ethnic origin - it is impossible to conclude firmly that Irish vs. English ancestry is of little interest in clarifying the

distribution of HE features in present-day St. John's speech, there is every suggestion from the present study that such is indeed the case.

In conclusion, Newfoundland represents the highly interesting linguistic situation in which a local, essentially Hiberno-English speech variety has in recent years come under the influence of a general North American standard speech model. In present-day St. John's speech, the Hiberno-English features investigated have for the most part exhibited the stratification associated with stigmatized variables in other urban contexts - that is, these features are used most frequently by lower socio-economic levels and by males. Nevertheless, the five linguistic variables examined have assumed somewhat differing social roles in the present-day St. John's speech community: as has been seen, some serve primarily as social class markers, others as markers of age and sex. No matter what their present social function, however, it is clear that such features are not primarily markers of an Irish ethnic background.

Since most of the HE variants examined in this paper are clearly in the process of change in present-day St. John's speech, they are of considerable interest with respect to the general theory of the social implementation of linguistic change. A striking result of the St. John's study is that most of the variables subject to ongoing change display a similar social patterning. As would be expected of linguistic variables in the course of change, they are characterized by a linear age distribution; in the St. John's context, the use of standard forms proves to be roughly inversely proportional to age. Yet with respect to the socio-economic stratificational patterns which they display, the HE features examined in this paper do not appear to conform to the predictions of the sociolinguistic literature (e.g., Labov 1981). In all cases - whether or not socio-economic status proved significant - the socio-economic distribution also displays a linear shape, rather than one of the curvilinear varieties which have proven in other urban contexts to be characteristic of early and late stages of language change. In other words, change in the direction of the standard model seems to be led in the St. John's context by the upper middle social classes - that is, by a socio-economically extreme group rather than by an intermediate one. If this does indeed prove to be the case, it would offer some challenge to current

accounts of the social mechanisms underlying language change.

Notes

1. This study was supported by Grants No. 410-81-1380 and 410-83-0351 from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, as well as by the Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University. Particular thanks are extended to research assistant John Porter.

2. In the St. John's study, socio-economic status (SES) was measured by an index which aggregated scores on five scalar measures: education, income, occupation, father's occupation, and housing. On the basis of index scores, subjects were divided into the five socio-economic groups represented in Figure 2.

3. The term "non-standard" is used simply in the sense that these HE features do not form part of the North American speech variety which constitutes the present linguistic standard in the St. John's context. In actual fact, such HE features are characteristic of the local speech norm, and are used by a wide variety of St. John's speakers, especially, as will be seen, those who grew up in pre-war years.

4. A significance level of 5% (that is, $p < .05$) is the minimum acceptable in the present study; this would indicate that the probability of a result's occurring by chance is less than 5%.

5. Roman Catholic subjects also displayed a tendency, though non-significant, to use more of the local HE variant in several other cases, notably the /ð/ and /t/ variables.

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Figure 1. Settlement patterns in Newfoundland

15-19	29
20-34	32
35-54	32
55 and over	27

BY AGE GROUP

Male	54
Female	56

BY SEX

Group 1	22	(SES score of 0-10) - "Upper" class
Group 2	27	(SES score of 11-15) - "Upper Middle" class
Group 3	31	(SES score of 16-20) - "Middle" class
Group 4	28	(SES score of 21-25) - "Lower Middle" class
Group 5	12	(SES score of 26-30) - "Working" class

BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDEX

Figure 2. Composition of the 120-subject St. John's sample

Socio-Economic Group	/ð/ as [d/ɾ]	Postvocalic /l/ as [ɫ]
(Upper) Group 1	.12	.16
Group 2	.14	.22
(Middle) Group 3	.32	.37
Group 4	.34	.50
(Working) Group 5	.74	.57
(df=4/83)	(F=18.88, p<.001)	(F=12.36, p<.001)

Table 1. Socio-economic group Means and F-Ratios for usage of the alveolar stop variant of /ð/, and the 'clear' variant of postvocalic /l/, casual (Free Conversation) speech style

	/ð/ as [d/ɾ]	Postvocalic /l/ as [ɫ]
Sex		
Males	.39	.37
Females	.17	.33
(df=1/9)	(F=32.40, p<.001)	(F=4.88, p<.05)
Age		
15 - 19	.23	.15
20 - 34	.28	.19
35 - 54	.30	.45
55	.36	.64
(df=3/83)	(Non-significant)	(F=38.07, p<.001)

Table 2. Sex and age group Means and F-Ratios for [d/ɾ] and [ɫ], casual (Free Conversation)

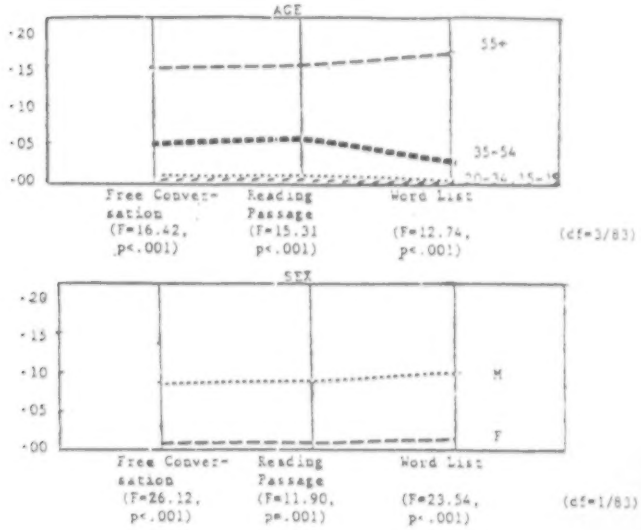

Table 3. Sex and age group means for usage of the monophthongal variant of the /o/ variable

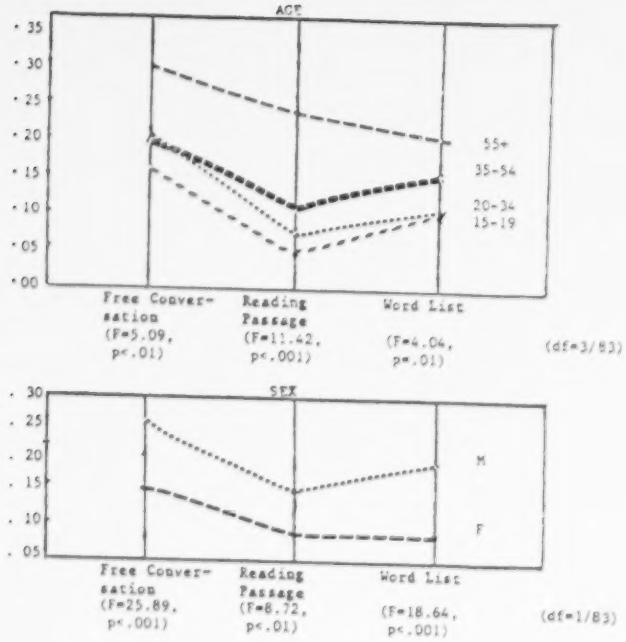

Table 4. Sex and age group means for usage of the rounded retracted [ɒ] variant of the /ʌ/ variable

AGE	15-19		20-34		35-54		55+	
SEX	[oʷ:]	[ɒ]	[oʷ:]	[ɒ]	[oʷ:]	[ɒ]	[oʷ:]	[ɒ]
M	.02	.22	.01	.23	.09	.23	.26	.42
F	.00	.07	.00	.17	.01	.16	.04	.18

Table 5. Cell means, Age by Sex, for the monophthongal variant of the /o/ variable and the retracted variant of the /ʌ/ variable
(For [oʷ:]: F=9.37, df=3/83, p<.001)
(For [ɒ]: F=3.33, df=3/83, p<.05)

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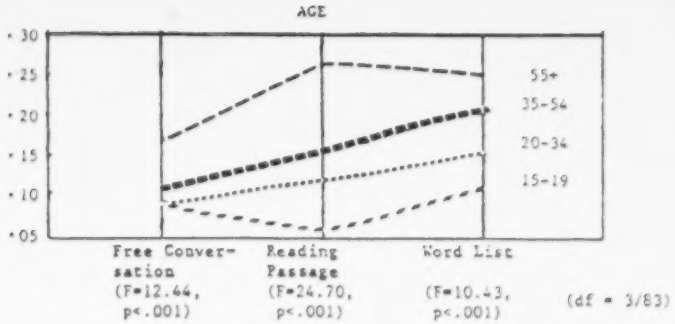

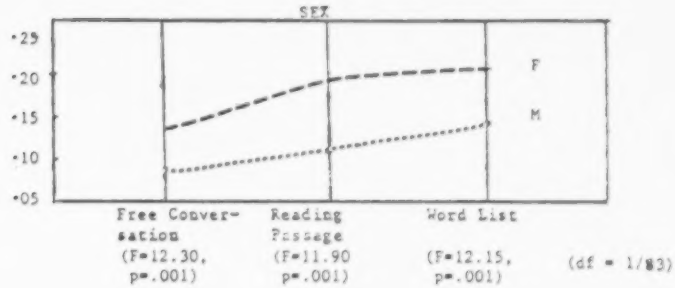

Table 6. Sex and age group means for usage of the slit fricative variant of the /t/ variable

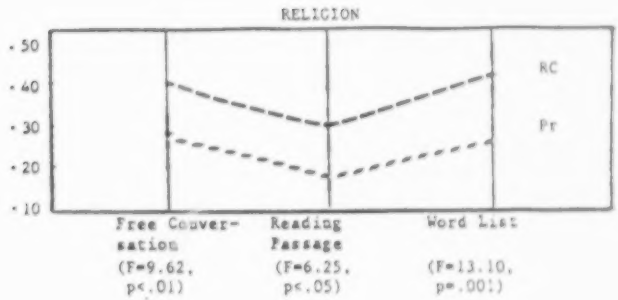

Table 7. Means for Roman Catholic (RC) and Protestant (Pr) subjects, clear variant of /l/ (df=1/83 in all cases)

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HIBERNO-ENGLISH AND WHITE WEST INDIAN ENGLISH--THE HISTORICAL LINK

0. Introduction. The concordance between the linguistic structures of the anglophone varieties spoken on both sides of the Atlantic, viewed in conjunction with the historical events of English colonialism in the Caribbean have facilitated a reassessment of the degree of linguistic difference between the anglophone Caribbean creoles and those varieties of English which were represented in the contact that took place during the seventeenth century (c.f., Harris 1985; Rickford to appear). These reevaluative studies have neglected the most crucial link in the historical transmission of metropolitan English from the British Isles to the Caribbean. Namely, this link consists of the dialects of white West Indian English--contemporary survivals of colonial West Indian English which developed out of the contact between speakers of regional anglophone dialects and also speakers of other languages, such as Irish Gaelic, Scots, and Welsh in the seventeenth century.

The purpose of the present paper is to examine the social historicity of the Hibernian component within the indentured European population, focussing on their contemporary white West Indian descendants. Given the limits imposed on the length of the presentation, it is not possible for me to go into any detail concerning the features of white West Indian English. Interested persons are urged to consult the descriptions in Williams (1983, 1985, in prep. a, in prep b.).

The white communities in the Caribbean date back to colonial English expansion during the early seventeenth century, ostensibly making them the locus of the oldest dialects of colonial British, Scottish, and Hiberno English in the New World. Therefore, a knowledge of the linguistic features found in the dialects of white West Indian English is of crucial importance in determining the nature of the historical relationship between Hiberno English and the New World black Englishes.

The goal of this paper is to point out the importance of the extant, local white population in the West Indies as a source for the historical study of Hiberno English as well as the anglophone creoles of the region. In section one, I will outline some of the socio-historical events surrounding the use of indenturage as a means of colonizing the Caribbean. Following this, section two presents passages from white Bajans, Bequerians, and Sabans concerning their ethnohistories and their perspectives on the social position of whites vis-a-vis the larger society. I will conclude the paper will a brief outline of the implications of the social "acts of identity" of white West Indians to their linguistic behavior.

1. Historical background. The English gained a foothold in the Caribbean in the seventeenth century with the founding of their first permanent, e.g. successful, colonies at St. Kitts in 1624 and Barbados in 1627 (see Map 1). It was from these two central points that the English dispersed servants, and later slaves, throughout their West Indian possessions.

Socio-economic conditions in England, Ireland, and Scotland were desperate enough that many peasants chose immigration to the new American colonies over starvation at home (c.f., Bridenbaugh 1972). The social and economic conditions in England at the turn of the seventeenth century were changing dramatically. Urban growth and the opening up of the new American colonies afforded the general population with a means for some socio-economic advancement. The period from 1600 to 1640 was one of large-scale population movements within England, owing in part to colonial trade and shipping. Many of the unemployed were attracted to the western ports of England; the most important being Southhampton, Bristol, and London. Extreme poverty affected both the rural and urban populations of England, Ireland, and Scotland between 1620 and 1640. These factors along with the plague outbreaks of 1625 and 1636, and several periods of drought and crop failure make the first half of the seventeenth century one of destitute hardship for the population as a whole (c.f., Bridenbaugh 1968).

The possibility of escaping these conditions was incentive enough for many to leave England for the colonies during the seventeenth century. It has been estimated that nearly 80,000 people (2% of the total population) left England alone during this time. However, most could not afford to pay for the passage themselves; therefore, they had to find other ways to obtain their transport.

During the 1600s, English social structure maintained a bifurcate division between types of servants: <u>permanent</u> and

temporary (Dunn 1972: 52). Permanent servants came from the lowest social strata, while temporary servants came from the peasant and middling classes. Such a temporary servant status was associated with the apprentice system of the time.

Indenture was a well-established part of the apprenticeship system which was adapted for the purpose of peopling the colonies in North America and the Caribbean. Peasants were given passage and clothing in exchange for working for a master for a period of time ranging from three to seven years. During their indenturage also, servants were to be fed, clothed, housed, and given adequate treatment by their masters. However, comtemporary accounts of the period describe the less-than adequate treatment given to many servants (c.f., Ligon 1673).

Both solicited and unsoliticed servants arrived in the port cities of Limerick and Kinsale in Ireland, and Bristol and London in England. Bristol had been the main port for the importation of Celtic peasants into England in the early part of the seventeenth century (Bridenbaugh 1968: 412). Upon their arrival, servants were held for varying periods of time until they were shipped across the Atlantic. An account of their detainment from 1647 goes as follows:

> ...once being entred [the servants] are kept as Prisoners untill a Master fetches them off; and they lye at charges in these places a moneth or more, before they are taken away. When the Ship is ready, the Spiritis charges and the Cooke for dieting paid, they are shipped.

In Heinrich von Uchteritz's description of his indenturage in Barbados in 1652, he states that he was held in London for three monthes before being shipped along with 1300 other prisoners to Barbados (Gunkel & Handler 1970). This practice of holding servants prior to shipment would have facilitated the initial acquisition of some type of English by monolingual Irish speakers as well as providing a situation for dialect contact and levelling among the speakers of provincial English dialects.

2. Provenance of servants. What makes the study of the speech of white West Indians of importance to a conference on Hiberno English is the fact that a large portion of the indentured population which came to the West Indies during the colonial period was Irish. Many of these individuals were speakers of a seventeenth century variety of Hiberno English. However, tracing the provenance of the indentured population is as complex a task as is tracing that of the African slave population in the West

Indies.

In a detailed study of the history of the "Redlegs" of Barbados, Jill Sheppard (1977) states the following:

> Naturally enough, for reasons not only of geography but of politics, the area best represented is the west of England; but it is woth noting, especially for the benefit of those who see a west-country man lurking inside every Barbadian, that almost all of the counties of England and Wales, with the exception mainly of the four northern-most counties, and seven of the counties of Ireland, appear on these lists [of those persons sent from Bristol to Barbados in the middle 1600s].

The West Indies, and in particular the islands of Barbados and Bermuda, became the locus of transporation for various political and religious dissenters, war prisoners, criminals, and other "undesirables" (Niles 1980: 15-18). Servants were to be recruited from "felons condemned to death, sturdy beggars, gipsies, and other incorigible rogues, poor and idle debauched persons" (C.S.P., 1661-8, #791).The transporation of prisoners was legalized in 1648 and thereby provided a large number of servants coming from England, Ireland, and Scotland. Prior to this, however, in 1644, an Act was passed which prohibited the "landing" of any Irish in Barbados (Burns 1954; Niles 1980: 21). This Act was initiated due to concerns over the number of Irish, many of whom were Catholics, in the West Indies. However, the Act had little real effect. The large-scale Scottish immigration came later than that of the Irish and moreover, the Scots were generally preferred--along with the Welsh--as servants in the colonies (c.f., Burns 1954; Williams 1985).

From the available demographic records, it is safe to conclude that the southwest of England followed by Ireland, Scotland, and Wales were the best represented in the indentured population shipped to the West Indies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. From early on, there was voiced opposition to the Irish. The number of Irish in the region in 1650 has been estimated to consitute half of the entire population of the Caribbean (c.f., Bridenbaugh 1972). However, Robert Le Page (pers. comm.) has questioned the accuracy of this figure.

In 1657 an Order was issued which stated that Irish freedmen and servants should be considered dangerous and be disarmed. This Order owed in part to England's being at war with Spain and the fact that a large portion of the Irish population was Roman

Catholic. According to Saban ethnohistory, the Irish in St. Kitts refused to side with the English against the French (also Roman Catholic) and escaped in the night to the nearby island of Saba in the 1640s. A similar event occurred on Nevis in 1629, when the indentured servants and militia refused to fight for the masters when the Spanish attacked the island (Burns 1954: 200).

Many of the servants left the larger, more populated islands like Nevis, Antigua, and Barbados during the late seventeenth century. Many of these chose to settle on the smaller islands and also those islands which lacked direct colonial adminstration, such as St. Vincent. This was especially true for debtors, criminals, and those servants who were subject to re-indenturage. It is apparent that the Irish, in particular, were often subject to serving extra terms of indenturage. Parliamentary discussions of the middle 1600s proposed that all English servants should be removed from the field gangs of sugar plantations, leaving such labor for blacks and the Irish (Beckles 1982: 348). In Barbados, the Irish were derided by blacks as being "white slaves" (Burns 1954: 302).

2. White West Indian ethnohistory. Determining the provenance of the white population in the West Indies has been limited to the use of written historical sources (c.f., Sheppard 1977). The lack of attention given to oral, ethnohistorical accounts of the extant white communities limits our knowledge of the processes of network and speech community formation as well as contact and migration among the various communities (c.f., Williams 1985). Self-imposed isolation in remote villages in addition to tightly-knit community networks have severely restricted access to information concerning the language and speech of present-day white West Indians. Table 1 on the following pages provides a list of the known communities, and is not limited to the anglophone Caribbean. It is a compilation based on a number of written sources and direct observations in the region.

Due to limitations of space, what follows are extracts from recordings made in white communities on Bequia, Barbados, and Saba. In most cases, individuals were questioned directly about family and community history, but in others, the accounts were volunteered. A brief discussion of the implications of these statements will follow.

> In Barbados here, you get most Irish Scotch...Irish and Scotch...and the um um Welsh. Some were criminals, I would say, and some were decent men. They was only picked up and

ISLAND	COMMUNITY/PARISH	LANGUAGES
Abaco, Bahamas	Cherokee Sound	LD, LC(E)
	Great Guana Cay	LD, LC(E)
	Hope Town	LD, LC(E)
	Man-o-War Cay	LD, LC(E)
Anguilla	Island Harbour	LD, LC(E)
Barbados	Blades/St. Philip	LD(E)
	Church Hill/St. John	LD(E)
	Clifton Hall/St. John	LD(E)
	Glebe Land/St. John	LD(E)
	Newcastle/St. John	LD(E)
	Superlative/St. George	LD(E)
Bequia	Mt. Pleasant	LD, LC(E)
	Sugar Hill	LD, LC(E)
Bermuda	n.s.	LD(E)
Cayman Brac	n.s.	LD(E)
Desirade, Guadeloupe	n.s.	LC(F)
Eleuthera, Bahamas	Spanish Wells	LD, LC(E)
Grand Cayman	East End	LD(E)
	West Bay	LD(E)
Grenada	Mt. Moritz	LD, LC(E)
Guanaja, Bay Islands	n.s.	LD(E)
Inagua, Bahamas	North-West Point	LD, LC(E)
Jamaica	Seaford Town/ Westmoreland	n.s.(E)
	Cave Valley/ Hanover	n.s.(E)

Figure 1: White West Indian Communities

Long Island, Bahamas	Mongrove Bush	LD, LC(E)
	Grays	LD, LC(E)
	Salt Pond	LD, LC(E)
Martinique	n.s.	LC(F)
New Providence, Bahamas	n.s.	LD, LC(E)
Roatan, Bay Islands	French Cay	LD, LC(E)
	French Harbour	LD, LC(E)
Saba	Hellsgate	LD(E)
	Windwardside	LD(E)
St. Barts	Colombier	LD(F)
	Corossol	LD(F)
	Cul-de-Sac	LC(F)
	Flamand	LD(F)
	Grand-Fond	LC(F)
	Grande Saline	LC(F)
	Public	LD(F)
	Tolny	LC(F)
	Vilet	LC(F)
St. Kitts	n.s.	n.s.(E)
St. Lucia	Roseau Valley	LD(E)
St. Maarten	Simpson Baai	LD, LC(E)
St. Thomas	Carenage	LD(F)
	Northside	LC(F)
St. Vincent	Dorsetshire Hill	LD, LC(E)
Utila, Bay Islands	cays	LD(E)

Abbreviations:
E = English
F = French
LC = Local creole
LD = Local dialect
n.s. = not specified

* Compiled 1982, Revised 1985

throwed only because they didn't like the government. [BARBADOS 3A]

What we call down in the hill the Scotland area, is the people that came here [Barbados] from Scotland and carried them down there, you see. The white people call them the Scotland. [BARBADOS 1A]

Our old ancestors came from Scotland...maybe around 200 years, or maybe...I just don't know, you know. Any people come from over there and hear our twang and thing ask us if, ask if we are from Scotland, you know. So uh, maybe we'll tell them that our old ancestors, you know, come here. [BARBADOS 1A]

We are all a family, you know. The whole thing. Cousins, first and second cousins and all like that. Aunt and mother and grandmother...From Sugar Hill down til you come up is Mt. Pleasant. Right up here is Mt. Pleasant, and all down there is Belmont. And Sugar Hill is different to Mt. Pleasant...Yeah, mostly white but not our type of white...Redlegs [BEQUIA 2A]

St. Johns, those people they talkin' more I--like Irishmen. In the Bottom, well they have, they have the old white ones those who are the English, they spoke London English, they tired to. [SABA 2A]

They have many Kings in Bequia which were also, well, from the Northumbrian area. [BARBADOS 2B]

The local nigger here will call me Redman. If I was a rich man, I'd be a white man. You see how they go down here. When you're rich, you're white. When you're poor, you're Red. [BARBADOS 3B]

The complexity of the social and ethnic background of the white component in the contact situations that took place throughout the colonial period of West Indian history is reflected in the preceeding statements. Focussing, both linguistic and social, has been a ongoing process in white communities. In terms of social identity, there is an emic distinction made between "Redlegs" and other whites in the West Indies. On Barbados and

Bequia, this distinction is maintained primarily through community residence. Language, or dialect, does not appear to to play an important role as a boundary between the two groups. On Saba, however, village identity coincides with dialect boundaries. This pattern is in the process of eroding, leading to a re-focussing (c.f., Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985) of both social and lingustic identities. For most white Sabans, their national identity as "Sabans" has become paramount to their local, village identities.

3. Conclusion. The lack of attention given to the white Caribbean English vernaculars as sources of data concerning the fate of Hiberno English in the New World is unfortuneate for a number of reasons. First, it has prompted misconceptions about the distribution of certain linguistic features, most notably aspect markers, throughout the region (c.f., Harris 1985; Rickford to appear). Second, the lack of attention has given rise to geographically-based, historical explanations for anglophone creole development in the New World which do not account for the diversity of the original indentured population. This diversity being reflected in the patterns of linguistic variation found within the dialects of white West Indian English. Finally, the degree of Hibernian influence in the anglophone Caribbean cannot be fully ascertained without knowledge of the language and speech of the extant Hibernian component, which is to be found within the minority white population.

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Map 1

The Lesser Antilles

SECTION B

PHONOLOGY

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WORD-STRESS IN HIBERNO-ENGLISH

Before proceeding to a description of stress placement in Hiberno-English I would like to give you some indication as to the approach I will be adopting to this topic. To my knowledge word stress in the English of this country has not been treated systematically in print to date, much less subjected to a socially or regionally oriented study along quantitative lines. For lack of data rather than any reasons of personal preference I am not in a position to supply the second kind of treatment I have just mentioned, but I think it will be helpful to provide a systematic summing up of those features of stress placement within the word whereby Hiberno-English is differentiated from what we may call the metropolitan accents of the major English speaking countries. It will be useful at this, preliminary, stage to abstract all stress features which are peculiar to Irish English, and for analytical convenience to treat them collectively as though an idiolect diverging to the maximum extent from the situation described in Erik Fudge's recent study of English Word Stress (1982), and from the indications for place of stress given in Daniel Jones' English Pronouncing Dictionary (1977). Accordingly I will be less concerned with the geographical distribution within Ireland of any of these features than with their linguistic, that is systemic significance. It should be noted that I will not be discussing the pronunciation used by any one informant. The object of discussion here is intended to be a composite picture (there may be some bias towards the southern part of the country in the examples selected). I will however get around later to the question of accounting historically for these divergences in so far as is possible, which is essentially a matter of how far speculation will take us at this stage. In his monumental work on Accents of English (1982) J.C. Wells mentions a number of respects in which stress placement in Hiberno-English differs from the situation obtaining in the English of England: "Word stress seems to be rather more flexible in Irish accents than in RP: af'fluence alongside 'affluence, dis'cipline or 'discipline, or'chestra or 'orchestra, muni'cipal or 'municipal (RP mu'nicipal). One type of stress variability can perhaps be captured by saying that the Alternating Stress Rule of SPE is optional in Irish English: hence the prevalence of stressings such as concen'trate, edu'cate, exagge'rated, recog'nize, specia'lized, subse'quently

(all alongside RP-type initial stressed alternatives). Some alternate 'educate with He edu'cated her, 'recognize with He recog'nized her, where adding an unstressed pronoun triggers a stress shift" (: 436). In all these cases what is involved is delayed placement of stress in contrast to other varieties of the language. The situation often is that stress falls not on the initial or root position of the word, but on a subsequent suffix. In yet other cases no morphological analysis is at hand and we must seek purely phonological grounds for the divergent stressing. I will of course disregard the alternative ways of stressing such words as 'controversy, con'troversy, homo'geneous, ho'mogen(e)ous, where the items in question are very much associated with educated usage and the two options doubtless exist throughout the English-speaking world.

As you will have noted from the abstract I have identified four features of stress placement which deserve investigation as part of a dialectological characterization of Hiberno-English vis-a-vis other regional varieties of English. It is to be hoped that in current research on Hiberno-English by specialists an effort will be made to assemble a quantitative and geographical corpus of data on these features. The first two have a morphological aspect in that they involve the alternatives of stressing a derived formation on a suffix or on the root. The alternatives involved are not unique to Ireland. I will now deal in detail with these four features of stress in Hiberno-English.

Verbal suffixes.

(1) Hiberno-English shows a tendency to stress the verbal suffixes -ate, -ize, -ute, in trisyllables, giving such pronunciations as edu'cate, indi'cate, adver'tize, orga'nize, prose'cute (and for some speakers, at least sporadically, justi'fy, noti'fy), instead of the initial stress which seems to be consistently used in England and America. This applies to the various inflections and derivations of such words as well, so one may hear on the radio: The Minister also indi'cated.., or the progressive form stressed as edu'cating, orga'nizing, or a derivative as indi'cator, gene'rator, appli'cator, admini'strator, compli'cated, adver'tizement. There is, as Wells says, a degree of variability here but I would state it differently. The use of stressed -'ize as in orga'nize seems to me to be almost universal in Irish speech although I am familiar with a few people who do not use it. The situation is less clear with -ate. Some speakers seem to stress it fairly consistently, others do so when

sentence stress facilitates or requires that, and others only sporadically. I personally always stress -'ize in trisyllabic forms, but I feel that I stress -ate only irregularly, probably conditioned by sentence rhythm (with the possible exception of end stressed dislo'cate, by analogy with disyllabic lo'cate). J.C.Wells, in the work just mentioned attributes suffixal stress in Scottish English to "verbs with the suffix -ize, as organ'ize (RP etc. 'organize), and some with -ate as adjudi'cate (RP ad'judicate)" (1982: 414). All this refers of course to trisyllabic or longer forms. As regards disyllabic forms, migrate etc., end stressing is according to Fudge the rule in Britain, but Americans typically stress the first syllable in several such words, 'migrate, 'rotate etc. Not surprisingly end stressing is the norm in Ireland also. Suffixal stress is in fact rather more widespread than this in Irish speech and it requires treatment in detail. In the recent work by Fudge that I have just referred to a large number of suffixes are discussed for stress assignment in alphabetical order. Taking Fudge's treatment (1984: 51-103) as a point of reference it will be of interest to identify the points where Irish usage diverges:

-able - (in)com'parable, la'mentable [lə'mɛntəbl], pre'ferable, (ir)recon'cilable (of which more later). In fact the first three of these are irregularly front stressed in other varieties of English; by rule one would expect pre'ferable (Fudge 1984: 52) in all accents, also *irre'vocable etc.

-ade - 'decade ['dekəd] is normally front stressed in Ireland, both in the sense of a ten year period and of ten beads or prayers in the Rosary. In British pronunciation even when this word is front stressed as is the case with some speakers one does not find vowel reduction, so the alternatives are [dɪ'keɪd] or ['dɛkeɪd].

-age - The ending is stressed in entou'rage, espio'nage and ram'page.

-ate - A discussion of this suffix opened this section. It can be summed up by saying that while disyllabic forms in -ate are normally end stressed in Irish pronunciation trisyllabic forms vary as regards stress placement, depending on the individual and also subject to conditioning by sentence stress. For disyllabic forms ending in -ate (e.g. migrate) Daniel Jones' English Pronouncing Dictionary (1977) gives the end stressed form as normal (for Britain), with the front stressed variant cited in brackets as a minority usage.

End-stressing seems to be nearly universal in Ireland in the case of such disyllables in contrast to the American practice of normally stressing the first syllable, so 'migrate etc.

-ator - Alongside dic'tator, as expected, some speakers stress this suffix in words where at least two syllables precede the suffix, such as appli'cator, admini'strator.

-ee - The word committee is commonly end stressed in the south of the country at any rate, as commit'tee. This is in fact the standard pronunciation of a different word, a legal term, nowadays no longer very familiar, meaning one to whom a lunatic, ward of court or other incompetent person is legally committed for care. Fudge takes -ee as a genuine suffix only in the latter case, cp. absen'tee, elsewhere it can be either stressed as in repar'tee or unstressed as in com'mittee (='board, council') (: 66-7).

-ess - This suffix is invariably stressed in Irish usage, in such words as manage'ress, hos'tess, prophe'tess. Stress is optional here in British English.

-ic - Arithmetic stressed on the penultimate syllable (by some schoolchildren anyway), which in British English is only appropriate in adjectival use.

-ile - Stressed in the word automo'bile (as in Automo'bile Associ'ation), but not elsewhere when pronounced [i:l], in words such as 'imbecile, to my knowledge. When pronounced [a:l] stress is as in RP, e.g. 'domicile, 'infantile. Recon'cile, with final stress, does not really belong here as the -ile is part of the stem rather than being a suffix.

-ism - In the south of the country this can be stressed in a few words, such as blackguardism [bla(:)ga:r'dɪzm] (also to be heard as [bla(:)'ga:rdɪzm],.

-ite - Expe'dite is end stressed.

-ize/-ise - This is typically stressed in Ireland in trisyllabic words such as orga'nize, familia'rize, frater'nize, recog'nize, compro'mise. 'Exercise may be an exception.

-izable - This not surprisingly follows the pattern for -ize, as in recog'nizable.

-ment - When a verbal formative this is typically stressed not only in disyllabic forms such as aug'ment, but also in trisyllabic forms: compli'ment, docu'ment, experi'ment, imple'ment.

-or - Guaran'tor is end stressed, doubtless on the model of guaran'tee.

-ose - Stressed in diag'nose, metamor'phose.

-ute - Some speakers stress this in prose'cute, perse'cute and their inflections, such as prose'cuted.

An important generalization is that suffixes which take stress in disyllabic forms in British English (as in ro'tate, aug'ment) are frequently stressed in trisyllabic forms also in Hiberno-English (indi'cate, compli'ment). We may modify Wells' statement about the Alternating Stress Rule by limiting its variable application to verbal forms (Hiberno-English has of course initial stress on nouns like 'hurricane). Where the behaviour of suffixes in general as regards stress differs in Hiberno-English from the situation in RP it is almost invariably the case that the Irish pronunciation involves stress closer to the end of the word.

Adverbial -arily.

(2) My next point has to do with the stressing of forms incorporating the adverb-forming suffix -arily, a matter on which there has historically been a significant and consistent divergence between British and American usage. In the traditional British pronunciation this suffix is unstressed and contains the weak vowels [əɪ] giving such pronunciations as ['prɑɪmərəlɪ] primarily, ['nɛsəsərəlɪ] necessarily, ['vɒləntərəlɪ] voluntarily, ['tɛmpərərəlɪ] temporarily etc. Forms potentially five syllables in length are often syncopated, as in ['sɛkəndrəlɪ], ['nɛsəsrəlɪ]. One may reasonably assume that in Ireland also this pronunciation was formerly universal. The American pronunciation is consistently suffix stressing as in [nɛsə'sɛrəli] necessarily, [mɪlə'tɛrəli] militarily. Wells states that "the Gen Am form of primarily /praɪ'mɛrəli/...has made considerable headway in England at the expense of the traditional form, RP /'prɑɪmərəlɪ/" (1982: 126). The American pronunciation has become very common in Ireland also in recent years, with the qualification that the vowel of the restressed suffix is more frequently /a/, clearly a spelling pronunciation; indeed where the stressed suffix vowel is not /a/ it is as likely to be /e:/ as /ɛ/, probably a phonotactic reinterpretation of the American

/ɛr/ sequence (or perhaps an alternative spelling pronunciation). My own guess is that few speakers under thirty are now likely to be heard using the older front stressed variants of these forms, and many people over that age who use the American type pronunciation have probably adopted it subconsciously during the course of their lifetimes.

Stress before medial consonant clusters.

(3) We now come to an aspect of stress assignment which is almost certainly peculiar to Ireland, and perhaps particularly associated with the south of the country, namely the stressing of a medial syllable in polysyllabic nouns where that syllable is followed by a consonant cluster, in such words as al'gebra, archite'cture, a'ristocrat [ə'rɪstəkrat], car'penter, cha'racter, cy'linder, in'dustry, mes'senger, pas'senger. Shifted stress in the words just mentioned is almost certainly seen as substandard, and consequently stigmatized in the educational system, but strangely this stricture does not always apply, and one may hear dis'cipline, or'chestra even from professional people. Shifted stress in these words may well be recessive; the form [k'(ə)'l'andər] used in West Kerry Irish for calendar must derive from a stress shifted variant of that word, but I have not encountered it myself in English contexts.

Divergent stress elsewhere.

(4) The three previous sections dealt with aspects of stress placement which are systematic in that they can be captured by a single rule or statement in each case. I will now deal with the balance outstanding after the other sections have been dealt with, for the most part unanalyzable or at any rate unsuffixed forms whose stress placement differs in Hiberno-English from the situation in the major metropolitan accents such as British Received Pronunciation and General American. It is sometimes the case that forms which are exceptionally stressed in British pronunciation receive regular stress in Hiberno-English. This happens with the noun 'cement (as against ce'ment), which should in fact follow the pattern of 'tempest, 'larynx etc. It will be helpful to subcategorize the words to be discussed in this section:

(i) Initial stress in Hiberno-English: 'ballet, 'bouquet, 'fusillade, 'religion ['rɪlədʒən] (and of course the adjective 'religious). In other cases stress placement is optional in British English, but predominantly initial in Ireland: 'adult, 'caravan, 'cavalcade, 'gaberdine, 'jubilee, 'quinine. Many older rural people pronounce 'amen at the end of prayers.

(ii) Medial stress in Hiberno-English: con'trary [kɒn'tre:ri:] (in the sense 'difficult, stubborn'), mis'chievous, ef'ficacy, muni'cipal (as in the Muni'cipal Gallery).

(iii) Final stress in Hiberno-English: This can sometimes be heard in disyllabic forms with a long vowel in the second syllable, such as ath'lete; otherwise in Dor'set Street (common among Dubliners), pimper'nel. One thinks also of the name of the great patriot Parnell the conservative pronunciation of whose name (nowadays only likely to be heard among older Protestants) was ['pa:rnəl]. Most people nowadays pronounce [pa:r'nɛl], as in Par'nell Street.

Placenames

Many Irish placenames are consistently stressed on a non-initial syllable, often indeed the last. Now the relevance of proper names to linguistic analysis is always a matter of dispute and in Ireland the vast majority of placenames derive from the displaced indigenous language, having indeed received their present canonical, and often monstrous, orthographical form no earlier than the last century in many cases. Where Irish placenames are not front stressed their origin in the Irish language is phrasal, typically either Noun + genitive Noun or Noun + Adjective in which cases the practice in Irish is for the second element to take the principal or phrase stress; so we have Tra'lee from 'Trá "Lí, A'thy from 'Ath "Í, Ty'rone from 'Tír "Eoghain. Not all these stressings have stood the test of time in the new Anglicized garb. Bel'fast, originally 'Béal "Feirste, is nowadays often called 'Belfast by its own inhabitants . Other placenames have undergone stress shift by way of a further degree of Anglicization. Glen'beigh and Ros'beigh in Co. Kerry, originally 'Gleann "Beithe and 'Ross "Beithe, can be heard with initial stress not only from tourists but even from some inhabitants of the county who clearly see some degree of prestige in imitating the tourists' pronunciation. A similar observation can be made about pronouncing the name Glenda'lough with initial stress.

Compounds.

I believe that a thorough study of stress placement in compounded forms will show some further evidence for postponed stress in Hiberno-English. Examples include tri'angle against the front stressed 'triangle of the reference accents, to safe'guard as against to 'safeguard, and in the southwest at any rate the phrases in the summer'time/winter'time.

Conclusions.

On a global scale there is relatively little divergence in the treatment of stress in English from country to country. It is probably fair to say that American English is the most prototonic variety of all, with initial stressing of such structures as in 'rotate, 'dictator, 'refugee. The divergence of Irish from British usage, while in the opposite direction, that of postponed stress, is probably no greater; it in no way approaches the degree of aberration found in Indian English (Wells 1982: 630-1), or in the West Indies (: 572). But how did it arise? Of the features described above suffixal stress in trisyllabic verbs (orga'nize etc.) is shared with Scottish English (and with educated West Indian usage); that occurring in adverbial forms such as pri'marily is undoubtedly the result of American influence in recent decades; the distinctive stressing of such items as 'cement, to the extent that they occur are often just regularizations vis-a-vis an exceptional stressing in the reference dialects. This seems to leave only the postponed stress used by some speakers in words like mes'senger, in'dustry as strictly Irish traits. But these features cannot all be taken in isolation. A number of phonological features of Hiberno-English have clear affiliations to the Irish language. The realizations of vowel phonemes, with monophthongs for the long vowels and the pronunciation of the STRUT vowel as [ɤ̈] can be seen as carry-overs from Irish. The breathy voice quality characteristic of Irish speech cannot be overlooked in accounting for a number of developments throughout the history of the Irish language (lenition, [ɵ] > [h] and perhaps also vocalization of intervocalic fricatives as seen in the evolution from Old Irish rogu with [ɣ] to modern [rau], spelt rogha 'choice') and for such characteristically Hiberno-English features as T-Opening (in intervocalic and final position as in out) or the replacement of intervocalic /t/ by /h/ (in, for instance, ['sahɔrdeː] Saturday), the latter phonotactically impossible in the reference accents. What about prosodic features, one may ask? I have restricted this paper to word stress but a feature of

phrasal stress is of relevance to the present argument. Phrases like high 'jump, Post 'Office etc. have an accentual pattern which is a carry-over from Irish, with the nuclear stress of the group on the second element. If phrasal stress shows a striking substratum feature, it is surely not impossible that the prosodic pattern of the individual word could have been similarly influenced.

Postponed stress has some antecedents in the language history of this island. The varieties of Irish spoken formerly in Munster, South Leinster and the Shannon basin underwent extensive stress shifting to post-initial long vowels some centuries back (before 1600 at any rate). Varieties of English showing marked oxytonicity were spoken in South Wexford and North Co. Dublin (and possibly in some towns) subsequent to the Norman invasion, the latter surviving down to the eighteenth century, but they seem to have contributed little or nothing to present day Hiberno-English. According to Prof. Bliss there "is no direct evidence bearing on the origin and emergence of the present-day Anglo-Irish dialects, and we have to fall back on internal, linguistic evidence" (Ó Muirithe 1977: 11). He dates the ancestry of Hiberno-English outside Ulster to a "sub-Standard, probably dialectal, form of English" of the mid seventeenth century, a time of heavy plantation of settlers. Some of the examples of postponed stress mentioned earlier can be traced back to this period: "In Ireland...the stress in a longish word very often falls nearer the end of the word than it does in England. For instance com'munal where the Englishman says 'communal; con'trary for 'contrary; dis'cipline for 'discipline; in'tegral for 'integral; an'tiquary for 'antiquary; la'mentable for 'lamentable, and so on. Almost all of these go back to 17th century English." (Bliss 1976: 19). Subsequent developments reflect a symbiosis between this speech and the adoptive English of indigenous Irish people, free from the influence of Standard English, which was typical only of the socially separate ascendancy class. A reinforcing factor in the evolution of a degree of divergent stress placement in Hiberno-English was the manner of the subsequent Anglicization of the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The English pronunciation acquired by the Irish speakers who abandoned their language owed much to the hedge schoolmasters who were a major vehicle of Anglicization, and whose own conception of English pronunciation was largely self-inspired. We can see from the doggerel verse composed by many of them how they took English to be stressed. Examples given by P.J. Joyce show consistent stressing of the -at(e)- morpheme ([e:] was used disproportionately often to carry the stress in this assonantal verse), for instance "I being quite captivated and so infatuated/ I then prognosticated my sad forlorn case/... So therefore I awaited with my spirits

elevated/" (1910: 79). We also find medial stress before a consonant cluster as in "said he in a whisper to my benefactor/ Though good your character has been of that lad" (: 102; composed c. 1840). This stressing was probably due to more than one factor - misinterpretation of the spelling, an attempt to follow a Latinate pronunciation, perhaps in the relevant parts of the country the influence of a spoken Irish which stressed non-initial long vowels in certain circumstances. If one is sceptical about substratum influences in general then it is possible to emphasize the fact that Hiberno-English stress placement often involves either regularization ('cement) or the maintenance of place of stress in forms related by derivation (la'ment - la'mentable, edu'cation - edu'cating). It will require a reliable geographical account of stress placement in present day Hiberno-English coupled with a careful study of verse composed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to take us any further. To sum up: Final stress in trisyllabic verbs such as edu'cate, orga'nize has a parallel in Scottish English but has been taken much further in the English of Ireland; it is not impossible that it owes something to the English of the seventeenth century planters, but it is more likely to have originated later, in the usage of the schoolmasters. The second feature discussed here, the stressing of adverbial -arily is of recent American origin and, while part of the characterization of stress placement in Hiberno-English, is of no historical relevance. The more typically Irish features, medial stress in mes'senger, in'dustry etc. and the words discussed in (4) derive variously from seventeenth century usage and from the switch to English of an originally Irish speaking population. A valid general observation is that the divergence of Hiberno-English from the reference accents, such as it is, is in the direction of postponed stress.

Note.

Professor James Milroy pointed out in the discussion after this paper that both variants may be heard in the city itself, their use governed by sentence rhythm.

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SECTION C

SYNTACTIC THEORY AND LANGUAGE CONTACT

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THE EQUATIVE SENTENCE IN HIBERNO-ENGLISH - ANOTHER AREA OF INTERFERENCE FROM IRISH?

The subject-predicate structure of equative (identifying) sentences has long been one of the controversial areas in both Irish and English grammar. In an attempt to tackle the problem from a fresh angle, this paper approaches equative sentences in spoken Hiberno-English (henceforth HE) from the point of view of their information structure. More specifically, my purpose is to examine to what extent the differences between Irish and English in this respect are reflected in present-day HE speech.

By an "equative" or "identifying" sentence I mean the type of sentence in which the referents of two noun phrases are in a relationship of identity and one is identified through the other. An example would be The leader is John, where (on one reading) the leader is identified as John. The verb used to equate the two referents is normally the copula be. In many languages equative sentences are also reversible, a feature which in English distinguishes them from "attributive" sentences such as The leader is old/an opportunist (cf. Halliday 1985: 114 ff.).

In accordance with Halliday (1967, 1976, 1985), equative sentences are analysed here as participating in a "dialogue game" where each sentence is seen as an answer to an implicit question. The referent that is to be identified (the "Identified") is already contained in the question; the "Identifier" is provided in the answer. Thus my example sentence above could be an answer to the question Which is the leader? where the leader represents the referent to be identified, and John the one that identifies it. Note, however, that the question allows two readings: by asking Which is the leader? we may either want to know which name or label we should attach to the person whom we can "observe" as being the leading member of a group of people, or, more commonly, the context is such that we want to know which person functions or is to function as leader ("Which one represents the leader?"). In both cases the leader appearing in the question represents the referent to be identified, which shows that one more level of analysis is needed to account for the different possible meanings of equative sentences.

In his classic "Notes on transitivity and theme in English" (1967) Halliday suggests that besides the Identified-Identifier structure, an equative sentence realizes a simultaneous but independent structure of the form "value-variable". There are now two basic contextual possibilities or "game situations" as I should like to call them: either we are asked to ascribe a value to an identified variable, or to provide a variable for an identified value. The former context is called the "encoding equative", whereas the latter represents the "decoding equative".[1] For example, the encoding question Which is the leader? has the leader as variable (or - as Halliday (1985) puts it - as "token"), for which a value has to be found. The meaning is 'What person does the leader realize?', and it could be answered, e.g., by

(1) The leader is John,

or

(2) The leader is the teacher (of our school, Mr. N.),

where the underlining indicates the location of information focus. Given the same question in the decoding context, the leader now represents an identified value, for which a variable has to be found. In this context, the meaning of the question is 'Which person realizes (or represents) the leader?'. The answer can again be

(3) The leader is John/the teacher.

but the meaning is different. Whereas the encoding context has the "outward sign" as its starting-point and raises the question of what value is to be ascribed to this sign, the decoding context already contains the value and the question is one of finding a suitable variable with the given value.

Although the Identifier is the element which carries the information focus, it need not always follow the Identified as in the answers above. In the decoding answer, especially, the sequence can easily be reversed to yield

(4) John/the teacher is the leader.

Improbable though this order is in the encoding case, in principle the equative sentence may assume any one of the following structural forms:[2]

(5) Which is the leader?

a) Encoding ('What person does the leader realize?'):

i. The leader is John/the teacher.

Identified/ Variable	Identifier/ Value

ii. ?John/the teacher is the leader.

Identifier/ Value	Identified/ Variable

b) Decoding ('Which person realizes the leader?'):

i. The leader is John/the teacher.

Identified/ Value	Identifier/ Variable

ii. John/the teacher is the leader.

Identifier/ Variable	Identified/ Value

Now the interesting question arises which sequence in each context is the "unmarked" one. In his (1967) work, Halliday takes the position that the variable is the "theme" of its sentence in the unmarked case, i.e., the variable comes first, and the value represents the "rheme" in both contexts (op.cit.: 228). This sequence is labelled as "operative", as opposed to the marked option, "receptive", where the value is theme (and subject). In Halliday (1976), the operative/receptive distinction is re-termed "active/passive". In his latest work, Halliday seems to have revised his view on the markedness of the decoding equative: while his arlier account would have said that example (5bii) above represented the unmarked option in a decoding context, he now writes that "the tonic accent in final position (strictly, on the final lexical element) is the realization of unmarked focus" (1985: 118). This means that (5bi), which is still the passive on his account, would after all be the unmarked option.

Whichever account of markedness one chooses, it is always possible and useful to turn to actual communication itself and find out which is the more favoured sequence. Before that, however, it might be interesting to see how Irish speakers structure the equative relation. This - I hope - will give us an insight into some characteristic features of HE speech.

As traditional grammars of Irish such as the Christian Brothers (1960) discuss equative (identification) sentences in terms of subject and predicate and not in terms of identification and coding, it is extremely difficult to extract the relevant information from them. That is why I chose to use a native

speaker of Irish as my main source of information. Liam Mac Con Iomaire, a native of Carraroe, Co. Galway, and currently a lecturer in Irish at University College Dublin, kindly imparted to me some of the niceties of Irish identification sentences. Presented with the above question Which is the leader?, he was then asked to give an answer in both an encoding and decoding context, and furthermore, to fill the place of the Identifier by i) a noun, ii) a proper noun, and iii) a pronoun. Paradoxically, his preferred answers displayed exactly the same sequence of elements for both contexts:

(6a) Encoding ('What person does the leader realize?'):

i. Is é an muinteoir an ceannaire.[3]
(Is him the teacher the leader)
'?The teacher is the leader.'

ii. Is é Seán an ceannaire.
(Is him John the leader)
'?John is the leader.'

iii. Is tusa an ceannaire.
(Is you the leader)
'?You are the leader.'

(6b) Decoding ('Which person realizes the leader?'):

i. Is é an muinteoir an ceannaire.
'The teacher is the leader.'

ii. Is é Seán an ceannaire.
'John is the leader.'

iii. Is tusa an ceannaire.
'You are the leader.'

The essential result of this experiment is that the Identifier always precedes the Identified, a sequence which, as we have seen, is doubtful for the English encoding equative and optional for the decoding equative. It is true that the Irish equative sentence also allows the opposite sequence, except when one of the members of the equative relation is a proper noun or a pronoun. It has been noted that these normally precede the common noun (for discussion, see, e.g., the Christian Brothers 1960: 218; Stenson, 1981: 104). Limited though my evidence is, it is supported by Stenson's (op.cit.) observations about the preferred orders in Irish identification sentences. She writes, "in the unmarked situation, with two definite common nouns, the first is interpreted consistently as the new information" (op.cit.: 112). What she means by "new information" amounts to the same thing as what I have referred to as the Identifier. This is intuitively understandable: the referent to be identified must be "given" information in one way

or other, and the Identifier then provides the missing, "new", information.

That the sequence Identifier-Identified should be the favoured one in the Irish equative sentence is not at all surprising in view of the preferred orders in the other types of copular sentence. Thus classification, ownership and cleft sentences all exhibit the focus-first order (for discussion, see esp., Stenson op.cit.: section 3.2.). One might say that there is a strong tendency in Irish for the information focus, and hence, new information to come first in the sentence, and in equative sentences this is reflected in a preference for the sequence Identifier-Identified.

I now turn to the evidence from HE speech. My HE data are drawn from a tape-recorded corpus of approx. 155,000 words, which consists of openly recorded, fairly informal, interviews with elderly people from three different dialect areas. These areas are assumed to represent different degrees of Irish influence. The first area includes Counties Kerry and Clare; these were chosen as representing the most recent and most direct impact of Irish. Although all of the 10 informants had English as their first language, they had obviously spent their childhood in a strongly bilingual environment, because most of their parents or grand-parents at least had had Irish as their native language. The length of this corpus is a little less than 70,000 words.

Next on the assumed continuum of Irish influence is the dialect of Wicklow, a mountainous area just south of Dublin. As is well known, Irish declined in this area at quite an early stage. According to de Fréine (1977: 75), most of Co. Wicklow had become English-speaking by 1750, and by about the year 1800 Irish survived only in restricted areas in the western parts of the Wicklow Mountains and in some mountain valleys on the Co. Dublin side. None of the 6 informants from this area remembered any Irish being spoken in these places even in their youth, and only one had studied it at school. The rest had virtually no knowledge of Irish. This corpus is slightly smaller than the first one (about 42,000 words).

The third variety of HE is that spoken in the City of Dublin. Being an urban dialect, and most open to the influences of the outside world, it can be assumed to be at the weakest end of the continuum of Irish influence. As Ó Cuív (1951: 21) states, there were probably no Irish-speaking communities left by the end of the eighteenth century. The 7 people interviewed here had very little or no Irish. The size of the Dublin corpus is the same as that from Wicklow.

The social standing and the level of education of the speakers were about the same: those from the rural areas worked or had worked in farming, the Dublin informants were either (retired) labourers or they had been occupied in "various little jobs", and none had had any more than National School Education.

A corpus of British English (BE) is used as a further point of comparison. Built as far as possible on the same principles, it consists of approx. 40,000 words. However, as it has not been possible for me to obtain a corpus of dialectal BE large enough for a meaningful comparison, I have had to content myself with the only variety of spoken BE which can be said to represent BE as a whole, and which is also reasonably accessible, viz., Educated Spoken English. Part of my corpus was collected by John Stotesbury (of the University of Joensuu), and the rest is drawn from Svartvik & Quirk's Corpus of English Conversation. Besides this material, I have recently acquired a small corpus of dialectal BE. This corpus, consisting of the interviews of 8 speakers from Somerset, about 6250 words in length, was collected by Professor Ossi Ihalainen. Small though it is, it will nevertheless provide us with an interesting point of comparison.

Before moving on the frequencies of the different patterns of equative sentences in the corpora, the following points of delimitation must be made. First of all, I have excluded from consideration all instances where either a personal or a demonstrative pronoun is one member of the equation. These are not interesting, because the pronoun virtually always precedes the common noun (as was noted above, this is also true of Irish). Similarly, I have excluded sentences of the type Noun Phrase+Copula+Sentence, where the "embedded" sentence was usually introduced by that (e.g., The reason is that..."). Again, these are scarcely reversible (no instances of the reversed order in the corpora). On the other hand, equations with an infinitive as one member are included. These are reversible not only in theory, but in practice, too. Several instances were found; the following example is from the Wicklow corpus:

(7) They are.. just growing (i.e., turnip) out for sheep.
Just to keep the weeds down is the whole idea.

Another group of sentences included are the so-called pseudo-clefts (whenever identifying) and identifying sentences of the type The one who broke the window was John. Both types fulfil the criteria of identity of referents and reversibility of elements. Note, finally, that noun phrases standing in an equative relation need

not always be definite or proper nouns. In (7), there is an infinitive acting as an NP. In example (8) from Kerry speech, three abstract nouns occur in an interesting context where the first equation - that of money (variable) with richness (value) - is negated, and a new value (wealth) is then ascribed to the variable money:

(8) There was a king somewhere.. some time.
And .. kings in them days were rich.
They would have money anyway.
But money isn't richness, you know..
Money is only wealth.

The following table gives the frequencies of the different patterns of equative sentences in each variety of English investigated here. Besides the main division into encoding and decoding equatives, I have distinguished within each between the sequence Identified-Identifier and its reverse. The former is labelled simply "Equative", because it can be assumed to represent the unmarked Given-New sequence so typical of the English sentence in general. The Identifier-first order I have chosen to call "Topicalized Equative". It would be hard to prove that Topicalized Equatives always involve the fronting of some element from an unmarked position into a marked one, as is the case with Topicalization "proper", but one can at least say that there is a shift in the location of primary information focus.

Area/variety	Encoding:					Decoding:					N
	Equative		Topicalized Equative			Equative		Topicalized Equative			
	N	%	N	%	N	N	%	N	%	N	
A. Kerry & Clare	19	*100.0*	-	-	19	21	*40.4*	31	*59.6*	52	71
B. Wicklow	1	*100.0*		-	1	8	*29.6*	19	*70.4*	27	28
C. Dublin	30	*96.8*	1	*3.2*	31	17	*43.6*	22	*56.4*	39	70
D. HE (A-C)	50	*98.0*	1	*2.0*	51	46	*39.0*	72	*61.0*	118	169
E. BE	13	*100.0*	-	-	13	37	*86.0*	6	*14.0*	43	56

Table. Frequencies of the different types of equative sentence.

On the encoding side, the pattern is uniform for all varieties. The "topicalized" option, which was already found to be improbable in standard English, also proved to be nearly non-existent in HE, despite the availability of an Irish equivalent. The solitary instance in the Dublin corpus occurred in a context where the speaker was enumerating all the houses in a

Dublin street, trying to remember the names of the families that lived in them in the past. The equation of the house numbers with the names generally took the form Number ten was Ashleys, where the house number is the outward sign (variable) to which a value is to be attached, but in this single instance it started off with the name (value), and the number of the house (variable) came after:

(9) Drumgooles..was thirteen.

On the decoding side which is the more common context, there is a clear and significant difference between the HE dialects, on the one hand, and BE, on the other: while the average percentage of topicalized equations reached up to about 60 in HE, it was only 14 in BE.

Among the HE dialects, there were no significant differences, and thus the assumed continuum which would have directly confirmed the role of Irish was not borne out. One could now argue that the observed difference between HE and BE can be explained simply as a difference between dialectal and more standard varieties of English.

I do not find this explanation plausible. The Somerset corpus, which I mentioned earlier is, of course, too small to provide conclusive evidence one way or other, and it contained only 4 equative sentences, all of which occurred in a decoding context. However, none of these were of the topicalized, Identifier-first, type, which I think is symptomatic of the general trend. After all, as many as 8 speakers were recorded, and even if the corpus were extended to be the same size as mine are it would be unlikely that the relative frequencies of topicalized equatives would rise to the same level as in HE.

Besides the availability of a corresponding pattern in Irish, there is some other indirect evidence which suggests that the HE equative sentence has been influenced by Irish. I have shown in an earlier work (see Filppula 1983) that HE abounds in other closely related focus-first patterns such as Clefting and Topicalization and that these are more common in the rural HE dialects than in Dublin speech. As a clear indication of Irish influence, Clefting was also found to be both most frequently used and functionally closest to the Irish copula construction in the Kerry dialect. As is well known, Irish makes far more extensive use of Clefting (i.e., the copula construction) than English does. Therefore, bearing in mind the closely similar information structure of clefted, topicalized and

topicalized equative sentences (the information focus comes first in all of them), I am inclined to say that Irish has, indeed, had an influence on the way HE speakers structure the equative relation.

The statistical uniformity of the HE dialects in the use of equative sentences can perhaps be explained by their fairly standard structure: the observed tendency for the Identifier to come first does not involve such overtly Irish features as would have been more unlikely to occur in the generally less Irish-influenced speech of Dubliners than in the rural dialects.

Notes

1. Here I have followed the terminology adopted in Halliday (1976); cf. (1967), in which the same terms are used the other way round.

2. As I am interested here in the sequence of the elements, I ignore the possibility of ellipsis.

3. I ignore the problems associated with the pronoun é and take the relative order of the two noun phrases to be the relevant fact.

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HIBERNO-ENGLISH: A PARAMETRIC APPROACH*

0. Introduction

In this paper I address the contribution that a Principles and Parameters approach can make to the study of Hiberno-English (HE). Specifically, it is argued that this framework can provide insights into the origins of certain HE syntactic constructions which are not explainable as direct borrowings from Irish or as survivals from Early Modern English. Furthermore, it is claimed that adopting this approach gives us an insight into why certain syntactic features were borrowed and certain others were not. Another advantage to the approach outlined here is that it is in keeping with current research in the areas of syntax, historical linguistics, and the acquisiton of both first and second languages. In this way it contributes to a coherent theory of the language faculty, and demonstrates that the study of a 'contact variety' like HE is a valid enterprise within mainstream linguistics.

In section 1, I outline the theoretical framework within which this work is being done. In section 2, I draw attention to some recent work in first and second language acquisition which assumes a Principles and Parameters model of language acquisition. Section 3 is concerned with the relevance of a Principles and Parameters approach for the study of syntactic change, I suggest that this approach can be fruitful for the study of contact varieties such as HE. Finally I discuss some non-standard constructions appearing in Early HE and Modern HE for which the approach can provide an interesting explanation.

1. The Theoretical Framework

The syntactic framework I assume is that of generative grammar, more specifically the theory of Government and Binding (GB) (Chomsky 1981 and references therein). It is not my intention to give here even a cursory overview of the technical details of GB Theory, as such an endeavour goes far beyond the scope of this paper, and in any case has been discussed at length elsewhere (cf. Chomsky, 1981, Radford, 1980). Rather, I would like to give an idea of some of the

underlying assumptions of the theory, and show how these assumptions can provide a coherent framework for the study of HE.

Within GB theory it is assumed that the grammars of all languages conform to certain principles, and that variation across languages occurs along certain parameters. These principles and parameters together make up 'core grammar' which is part of the genetic endowment of all human beings. It follows from this view of language that there are restrictions on the form that the grammar of any natural language can have.

An example of a proposed principle of natural language is the Empty Category Principle. This principle states that an empty category must be properly governed. An empty category consists of either the trace 't' of a moved element, or the base generated element pro, which is not found in all languages. In order to be properly governed, the empty category must appear in a particular structural configuration relative to a 'governing category' that is, a verb, preposition, or a noun.

The Empty Category Principle is assumed to apply in all languages. However the choice of which categories can be proper governors may vary within fixed limits. In English only verbs, prepositions and nouns can properly govern an empty category. In many other languages (e.g. Spanish, French) prepositions cannot properly govern an empty category, so the Spanish equivalent of (1) is ungrammatical

(1) Who are you talking to t ?

(2) *Quien estás hablando a t

So the Empty Category Principle applies in Spanish just as it does in English: however the choice of whether or not prepositions are added to the list of proper governors is parameterised.

The theory of markedness is one which has been discussed frequently in the literature, primarily to explain why certain variants of a parameter are so common in the languages of the world, and certain others so rare. Within this theory one value of a parameter may be assumed to be more marked than others. Markedness is based primarily on on distributional grounds, for example English is marked in that prepositions are proper governors, because in most languages sentences like (1) are ungrammatical. In other words, if many languages have one value for a parameter then it is considered unmarked, and if few

languages have that value it is considered to be marked.

However, not all parametric variation involves questions of markedness. There are some parameters which can vary from one language to the next without implying that one is more marked than the other. For instance, some languages have SVO word order while others have SOV word order, but one order is not considered more marked than the other.

2. Language Acquisition

2.1 First Language Acquisition

Recently researchers have used the GB framework to study first language (L1) acquisition (e.g. Hyams, 1983). The child is equipped with the principles of universal grammar and brings this knowledge to bear on the language s/he is acquiring. As languages can vary with respect to the values set for a particular parameter the child has to discover which value the language s/he is learning has assigned to that parameter. One such parameter is the so called 'pro-drop' parameter. Pro-drop languages are those languages which allow non-lexical subjects e.g. Spanish, Italian, Irish. The Spanish and Irish sentences given in (3) and (4) below are grammatical, but their English counterparts are not

(3) Hablo a Juan '*Speak to John'
SPEAK-1 TO JOHN ('I speak to John')

(4) Feicim an sagart anois '*See the priest now'
SEE-I THE PRIEST NOW ('I see the priest now')

Many researchers have noted that pro-drop languages have other properties which seem to be related to the pro-drop parameter; I will not discuss them here <1>. The reason for this clustering of surface characteristics is that they are all due to the value selected for a single parameter in the grammar. There have been various analyses put forward to explain the formal differences between pro-drop and non-pro-drop languages. I will assume here the analysis proposed by Travis (1984) who claims that like all verb-initial languages, Irish may have empty subjects because the subject position is properly governed by the verb.

The theory of markedness carries with it the implication that a marked parameter is one which will not be postulated by the child in the absence of evidence. In other words, the child has to be exposed

to the data to find out which value the language s/he is learning has for that particular parameter. Many researchers have claimed that until the child has discovered which value his language has s/he will assume the unmarked value. So for example if +pro-drop is the marked variant of a parameter then children acquiring Irish or Italian will not drop subjects right from the beginning of the acquisition sequence. Under this view there is an implied order of acquisition where unmarked structures emerge earlier than marked structures, and where the child will produce an unmarked structure which does not exist in the language until s/he acquires the marked variant at a later stage in the acquisition sequence.

2.2 Second Language Acquisiton

If languages vary along certain parameters then part of the second language (L2) learners' task is to reset some of the parameters at the value of the target language. Here again the notion of markedness has been invoked to explain which forms are liable to be transferred from the native language to the target language. Some researchers (eg. Mazurkewich 1981) have claimed that (as in first language acquisition) L2 learners acquire unmarked forms before marked. In other words, the mother tongue of the language learners is not relevant to the order of acquisition of particular structures. White (1983) has argued that this provides no explanation for so called 'transfer errors' which are fairly common in the speech of second language learners. She argues instead that transfer will only occur when the target language has an unmarked parameter where the mother tongue has a marked parameter; in other words, when the learner has to 'unlearn' a marked parameter. When the opposite situation occurs (i.e. the mother tongue has the unmarked parameter, the target language has the marked parameter), there will be no transfer.

Zobl (1985) has adopted a different view of language transfer effects. In discussing the word order errors made by L2 learners he claims that grammars have central and peripheral word order traits <2>. The central traits are the orders of the verb and its object NP, the preposition (or postposition) and its object NP, and the noun and its genitive NP. A language which is 'consistent' with respect to its central traits will have only the following word orders:

V NP, P NP, N NP,

or

NP V, NP P, NP N,

He claims that the learner generalises from the ordering within the PP to the ordering within the VP and NP. When this generalisation is correct (i.e. the language is 'consistent') there will be no transfer from L1 into the target language. Where there is inconsistency the learner has difficulty setting the relevant parameter and will fall back on the knowledge of his L1 and transfer will occur. Peripheral traits (e.g. the ordering of the adjective and the noun it modifies) are always subject to transfer.

We may seem to have wandered fairly far from HE which is of course the main subject of this paper, but I assume following Lightfoot (1979) and Travis (1984) that language acquisition is a central factor in producing syntactic change. This point will be discussed further in the next section.

3. Syntactic Change

3.1 Internal Syntactic Change

It has been suggested that GB theory can provide a framework to study internal syntactic change (Rodier, 1985, Travis, 1984) An internal change occurs when a number of unrelated changes obscure the underlying value of a particular parameter. Learners no longer have the evidence they need to set the parameter in the same way as previous generations, and so they set it at another value. As a result, the language may undergo further changes as this parameter interacts with others. This view is quite different from one which assumes that languages change in order to eliminate complexity - the logical result of which is that languages become less complex over time. In our view the issue of the complexity or simplicity of a grammar is not relevant - languages change because the acquirers interpret the data differently from the older speakers. The result is that the grammar of one generation is not the same as that of the next, although the output may be the same,or only marginaly different.

This view of language change is similar to that of Lightfoot (1979). The framework within which Lightfoot's analyses are cast is primarily the rule-based framework of the Extended Standard Theory, and antedates the view of grammar assumed in the GB framework. However, his view of syntactic change is very similar to that described here. According to Lightfoot there is a principle of grammar, the 'Transparency Principle', which places an upper limit on the amount of idiosyncrasy that a grammar will

tolerate. If some area of the grammar has an excessive number of idiosyncrasies and exceptions, the learners will reanalyse that part of the grammar. The result will be greater simplicity in that section of the grammar which underwent reanalysis, but other sections may become more complicated as a result.

The GB approach to language does not include a 'Transparency Principle' as this notion is subsumed under the notion of parameter resetting. We do not need to appeal to notions of complexity or simplicity which are extremely hard to define. Learners set parameters at the value that is most compatible with the data they encounter. The gradual accumulation of idiosyncrasies in some area of the grammar may lead the next generation to reset the parameter.

The interaction of parameters determines the unique characteristics of any given language. When one of these parameters changes, it can have widespread consequences for the whole grammar. The advantage of this newer approach is that the learners' choices are more restricted: hence, given a syntactic analysis of the language, we can come closer to distinguishing possible changes from ones which are not possible.

3.2 External Syntactic Change

This model is pertinent to languages in contact. In particular, external syntactic change is characterised as the resetting of parameters by bilingual speakers in accordance with their first language rather than the one they are acquiring. As a process, 'external syntactic change' is very similar to the process of 'internal syntactic change'. Both involve the resetting of parameters by language acquirers but in the case of external change L2 and L1 acquisition is involved. This view is opposed to that of Washabaugh (1980)

> ...internal language change proceeds from the more marked [..e. complex/idiosyncratic] condition of a rule to a less marked condition. In other words, the rule is altered from a less natural condition in which its application is highly specified, to a more natural condition in which its application is less highly specified. Borrowing is a kind of change which usually adds markedness to a language. Borrowing proceeds by adding specifications to the application of a rule.
>
> (Washabaugh 1980:87-88)

Under the view being put forward in this paper borrowing is no more likely to lead to complexity in the grammar than internal change. All syntactic change external and internal, is motivated by the L1 or L2 learner interpreting the data in a way different from that of previous generations, and setting the parameters at different values.

HE is the result of mass second language acquisition by an Irish speaking population. Certain constructions are present in HE because of the carry over of certain parameters from Irish to English. Present day HE developed during the seventeenth century from a combination of various dialects of British English, and the various interlanguages of the Irish learners of English. Thus we can see that the theories of first and second language acquisition are relevant to the development of a contact variety like HE.

The claim that L2 acquisition is relevant for external linguistic change has also been made by researchers working in the area of creole studies. Thomason and Kaufman (1975:15) claim that all situations of language contact lead to linguistic interference. They claim that the nature of the interference will vary according to the type of contact involved. When each of the languages is maintained by the social groups in contact, the interference will consist primarily of the borrowing of lexical items. When the contact results in language shift however, the language being shifted to will show a quite different type of interference. In situations of language shift (such as existed in Ireland during the development of HE) the target language shows a preponderance of phonological and syntactic interference, over lexical interference. <3> This is because in a shift situation the population is learning a new language, but in situations of language maintenance, this is not necessarily the case.

4. Parameters and Hiberno-English

4.0 Introduction

In order to understand the development of HE we have to know as much as possible about the dialects of British English it is based on, and the dialects of Irish which were spoken in Ireland during the period from 1600 on. However, the data, no matter how detailed and uncontroversial it is (and at this point it is certainly neither detailed nor uncontroversial), will not reveal much in the absence of a syntactic analysis. Without such an analysis we cannot establish

how seventeenth century Irish differed from seventeenth century English. If HE is the result of parameter resetting, just what were the parameters involved? Once this question has been answered (at least partially) the theories of historical change and language acquisition outlined above can help us explain how some of these parameters were reset. I will look at some of the HE syntactic constructions discussed in the literature and suggest ways in which the Principles and Parameters approach may provide insights on how and why they appear in the dialect.

4.1 Word Order

I assume, following Travis (1984) and others, that the underlying word order of Irish is INFL NP VP <4>, whereas that of English is NP INFL VP. In Irish the verb moves into INFL in tensed clauses, but remains in its D-structure position in non-tensed clauses so thatwe get the following contrasts:

(5) Do Dhún Seán an doras 'Sean shut the door'
PTCL SHUT SEAN THE DOOR

(6) Dúirt sé Seán a dúnadh an dorais
SAID HE SEAN SHUT(-fin) THE DOOR

'He said for Sean to shut the door'

If we assume that this is the case, then the underlying word order of Irish and English is very similar. The difference is that INFL appears before the subject in Irish, but after the subject in English. In Modern English only modals and auxiliaries can appear in INFL, but in Irish all verbs can appear there. This difference may be relevant to some of the the non-standard constructions which appear in early H.E. In terms of Zobl's distinction between central and peripheral traits, English does not present the Irish learner with much difficulty in so far as the word orders V NP, P NP, are concerned. Irish and English differ on the ordering within genitive NP's and within Adjectival phrases. If we look at the seventeenth century texts in Bliss (1979), even those which appear to be broken English (i.e. interlanguage) there are very few instances of English word order violations. There are no instances of the preposition appearing after its object or of the verb appearing after its object. However, there are three instances of an adjective after the noun it modifies (Bliss, 1979:290)

(7) pippins fine (1599-1600)

(8) night last (1730-40)

(9) shantelman brave (1730-40)

This is a word order violation that is predicted by Zobl's claim. The ordering adjective-noun is a peripheral trait, and therefore subject to transfer when the L2 has a different value than the L1. In fact we would expect that an error of this sort would have been fairly common in the speech of Irish acquirers of English as a second language.

4.2 Cleft Sentences

It has been noticed that HE allows many more types of phrases to appear in the focus position of a cleft than Standard English does. The sentences given in (10),(11) and (12) below are from Henry (1957), those in (13) and (14) are from Bliss (class notes 1978-79):

(10) It's often he'd tell me his troubles AdvP

(11) It's asleep he is AdjP

(12) It's a bullock we had NP

(13) Is it in America he is? PP

(14) It's praying for you I'll be all the days of my life VP

In Standard English (and all other varieties that I am familiar with), only an NP or a PP can appear in this position (Radford 1980). So it seems that here we see a construction that owes its form directly to Irish rather than to English. The word order in cleft sentences, does not involve any of the 'central' word order traits discussed in Zobl (1985), and so should liable to be transfered into the target language.

4.3 INFL and Pro-drop in Early Hiberno English

Bliss (1979:297-299) points out that a number of early HE texts show instances of sentences with non-lexical subjects. Below I give a couple of instances:

(15) By God _ ish true now! (1613)

(16) _ shall drink the ale whil feather
cock crow (1730)

Bliss points out that this is a transfer from Irish which is (in our terms) a pro-drop language. In fact White (1983) shows that many Spanish learners of English drop subjects also, so that the pro-drop parameter is one which is likely to be transfered into the target language. As we said earlier, Irish can drop subjects because the subject is properly governed by the verb, but in English it is not properly governed (INFL intervenes). If the early HE speakers were dropping subject NPs then they perceived the subject position as being properly governed.

There are a number of reasons why the Irish learners may have assumed this. The verb has to be in a particular structural position in order to govern the subject, i.e. it must appear in INFL to the left of the subject position. There are two surface forms in English which have INFL NP word order. The first is the ordinary INFL NP order in questions and the second is a stylistic rule of INFL subject inversion e.g. Had I only seen her (some early HE sentences very similar to this are discussed in Bliss, 1979:308)

The second reason they may have assumed that the subject position was governed has to do with the feature specification of INFL in seventeenth century English. Up until late Middle English all verbs could appear in INFL. In late Middle English a series of changes occured after which only auxiliaries and modals could appear in INFL. This change was not complete until the middle of the seventeenth century (i.e. until after the formative period of HE). During this period, periphrastic do was widely used, presumably because during the transition some lexical element had to appear in INFL (see Guilfoyle, 1983a,b, Harris, 1984, for a discussion of do in HE). In this period too the modals can, may, will emerged as a separate category, i.e. those verbs that are generated in INFL. It is interesting to note that all instances of pro-drop which appear in these texts contain either a modal or an auxiliary, precisely those elements that appeared most often in INFL in the English of the time, though other verbs would have appeared there too, but to a lesser extent. Given the variation in the English of the time, it may not have been clear that the modals and auxiliaries were not verbs and could not properly govern the subject. We need more evidence from both seventeenth century HE and British dialects of English before we can make anything

more than this fairly tentative hypothesis.

In this paper I have attempted to show that the Principles and Parameters approach to language change can provide interesting insights into the development of HE. While the analyses of the HE constructions discussed here are very tentative at this stage, it is clear that research into early and modern HE will reveal much data of interest to those of us working on language change within this framework.

Notes

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<1> There are other properties that many pro-drop languages seem to share: rich verbal morphology, the ability to invert the subject with the verb, and the so called "that t" effects (see Chomsky, 1981 for discussion).

<2> This is a fairly gross simplification of Zobl's distinction between central and peripheral traits, which in fact depends on the notions of directionality of government, case and theta-role assignment. However as it would be in appropriate to go into any detail here I would refer the reader to his paper for further discussion.

<3> Thomason and Kaufman actually cite HE as an example of a contact variety developed under a situation of language shift.

<4> INFL was referred to as AUX in earlier versions of the theory.

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THE CO-OCCURRENCE OF DO AND BE IN HIBERNO-ENGLISH

Introduction

The co-occurrence of do and be is one of the most frequently noted characteristics of Hiberno-English syntax. By far the dominant view of what I would term the syntactic variable do+be is that it is used to express habit or frequency, stemming from the Irish 'consuetudinal' aspect category. This view is expressed in various ways by Shee (1882), Burke (1896), Hannay (1912), van Hamel (1912), Hayden and Hartog (1909), Taniguchi (1956), Bliss (1972, 1979), and Ní Ghallchóir (1981) among others. Examples such as the following, taken from Shee (1882: 365), Burke (1896: 782), and Hannay (1912: 172) respectively, are usually cited as representative of this category:

(1) I am in Dublin for the cattle show, but I do be living in Cork

(2) I do be going to school

(3) I do be sowing potatoes in the field beyond.

In a more complex discussion, Henry (1957: 168ff) establishes four main categories using this variable: 'iterative durative,' 'present frequentative,' 'punctual present with iterative aspect,' and a related use of do alone to express 'generic truth.' These categories are illustrated by the following examples from Henry (1957):

(4) There bees a fret o' people at the fairs o' Boyle

(5) They do be fightin' among other

(6) He does come when he hears the noise

(7) It does rain a lot in winter.

Harris (1984) has also discussed do+be in detail, with somewhat different results from Henry's. Harris (1984: 306-307) distinguishes three main categories of this variable: a 'habitual be,' an 'iterative perfective,' and an 'iterative imperfective.' In the second category, what Harris terms a 'plurality of events' in which each event is seen as a 'self contained whole' is denoted using the form do+V-inf, while in the third category, a plurality of events is viewed with emphasis on the durative nature of the event. Harris (1984) illustrates these three

categories as below:

(8) Well, there be's games in it and there be's basketball, darts and all

(9) Well, when you put them on to the barrow you do have them in heaps and then you do spread them and turn them over and all

(10) They be shooting and fishing out at the Forestry lakes.

Though Harris (1984: 307) claims that the do+be form in 'many types' of Hiberno-English 'does not appear to exist as an autonomous category,' but arises only in questions and negatives 'as a result of do-support operating on the iterative imperfective,' the data on which this paper are based suggest an opposite conclusion: do+be is the essential category and the simple form with be alone never occurs. Geographical factors which may condition the alternation between do+be and habitual be have been noted by Harris (1985), partly following the work of Eithne Guilfoyle, and others, but in the absence of any thorough investigation of the geographical spread of the do+be variable, this alternation must simply be noted as an intra-dialectal point of variation within Hiberno-English.

This paper is concerned with three main questions: (1) the function of do+be in contemporary speech, (2) restrictions on the use of do+be in different sentence types, and (3) the historical development of do+be. The first question is analysed from a corpus derived from interview data, surreptitious recordings, and anonymous observations, based primarily on inner-city Dublin speakers. Anonymous and surreptitious observations were particularly important in obtaining the necessary data, in that the higher degree of formality which generally accompanies interviews, as well as the types of narrative categories usually elicited in them, tended to restrict the use of the do+be variable (see also Wolfson 1976 in this regard). Information concerning the second question was compiled from a questionnaire administered to 25 informants from various parts of Ireland, analysed according to an implicational hierarchy along the lines developed by DeCamp (1971), Bickerton (1973), and others. Further details concerning the contemporary and historical data on which this paper is based may be found in Kallen (1985a,b).

Do+be in Contemporary Speech

Four main types of sentence using do+be, together with a fifth, subsidiary, category can be identified in the corpus on which this paper is based. These types are illustrated by the following examples, in which each linguistic

datum is given an identifying number according to the following schema: (1) informant number; (2) sex of informant; (3) age group of informant; (4) provenance of informant; (5) mode of performance: anonymous observation (A), informal conversation on radio (M), reported speech (R), casual conversation or surreptitious recording (P).

Type I: It doesn't be long coming. Form: do+be V-ing.

(11) It doesn't be long coming (33F45-65TipperaryP)

Type II: I do put the excess up in here. Form: do+V.

(12) I do put the excess up in here (15F45-65DublinP)

(13) Although I'll take it because at least it does last (35F18-25DublinA)

Type III: Those pancakes do be gorgeous. Form: do+be $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Adj}\\\text{Adv}\end{matrix}\right.$

(14) Those pancakes do be gorgeous (31F18-25DublinR)

(15) Cooking apples do be mushy (32M1-5DublinP)

(16) I think when they're that age, they do be long and skinny (31F18-25DublinR)

(17) They do be younger there, now (33F26-44DublinP)

Type IV: There do be people who let them out on the road. Form: there do+be NP

(18) There do be people who let them out on the road (37M18-25DublinM)

(19) I told Peter this was for killing spots and he said, 'does there be a noise?' (2F12-17DublinP)

Type V: I do be delighted when I see the light on in the hall. Form:

do+be $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Adj}\\\text{V-en}\end{matrix}\right.$

(20) I do be delighted when I see the light on in the hall, cause I know that means he's after bein in here (15F45-65DublinP)

(21) They do be parked around on the road (49M18-25 DublinM)

These sentences may be analysed in terms of three aspectual features, whose interaction determines the unmarked aspectual interpretation of the sentence. These features are denoted as ±perfective, in which the state of affairs

depicted by the sentence is portrayed with no internal time structure; ±durative, in which the reference time of the sentence is not momentary, but extended in time; and ±dynamic, where the feature value +dynamic signals that a change takes place in the entities denoted by the sentence during the time to which it refers. (Though these terms are in general use in the study of aspect, their use here has particular reference to the work of Kiefer 1982.) I suggest that do functions as an aspect marker, introducing the feature +durative to the sentence.

The full do+be V-ing form in Type I is the one usually quoted by other authors, yet it is relatively rare in the Dublin corpus, coming only once from a speaker originally from Tipperary. Type I is doubly marked as +durative, in taking +durative from do and -perfective (hence +durative) from the progressive be+ing form. The category of generic reference can be seen here in the application of a durative marker to an imperfective situation.

In Type II, the aspectual nature of the sentence is determined by the interaction of do, the main verb, and any relevant adverbials. Since the main verbs of Type II may be either ±durative, and may be perfective, the aspectual configuration of this class may be either iterative (+durative, +perfective) or imperfective (+durative, -perfective). These possibilities are shown by (12) and (13) respectively.

Type III is by far the most common type in the Dublin corpus. The use of the copula rather than the imperfective be+ing adds the feature -dynamic to the aspectual specification. The stative attributions in (14)-(17), gorgeous, mushy, etc., are all +perfective; when applied to a multitude of objects, such as pancakes or cooking apples, the iterative interpretation of the features [+durative, +perfective] is made.

The do+be NP structures of Type IV add the +durative feature to an existential predication. In (18), for example, although the matrix predication is stative, the embedded clause denotes a +perfective state of affairs, in that the event depicted is neither extended nor momentary in its presentation. Combined with existential there, such sentences with do assume an iterative interpretation as well.

The forms of Type V contain an attributive passive participle or adjectival predication. The relationship of these forms to active counterparts is immaterial: the state of affairs depicted is +perfective whether the predications involve participles or adjectives, and the use of do again suggests the iterative application of the +durative marker to a state of affairs whose internal time structure is not commented on.

Though the above data suggest patterns for the use of do+be, they provide only limited information as to the restrictions on the co-occurrence of do+be with different verbal and adverbial time specifications. In order to test the range of permissable combinations, 25 informants were interviewed using a questionnaire comprising sentences either derived from the primary Dublin corpus, or from purely test-related principles. These results are presented below.

Implicational Analysis

The implicational analysis was designed to test the relative grammaticality of sentences using do+be and the perfective after of Hiberno-English. Subjects, all of whom were female, were asked if they thought 'someone' would say any of 27 sentences, including the following uses of do+be.

(a) I do be sick when I hear that man

(b) I do be knowing that woman

(c) Every morning I do be after missing the bus

(d) I do be getting drunk after work

(e) The whole week did be cold

(f) I do be just after closing the shop when he calls at the door

(g) The car does be moving

(h) I do be falling over that yoke about ten times a day

(i) I do be inspecting his work

(j) I do be taking a tea-break at work

(k) Orla does be working for eight hours today

(l) He does be tall

(m) The whole week does be cold.

The results from this questionnaire, shown in Table I below, demonstrate that sentences using do+be exhibit greater and lesser degrees of grammaticality, with none being rated categorically grammatical or ungrammatical. The most clearly grammatical example, sentence (A), follows the Type III pattern. The adverbial when I hear that man underscores the iterative interpretation associated with this sentence type. The less grammatical examples, (K)-(B), involve conflicts of temporal specifications which result in ungrammatical readings for most informants. Sentence (L), for example, involves an attribution which cannot be iterative in the same individual and thus, having the feature +perfective with this use of the copula, cannot co-occur

with do: cf. (16), where a succession of individuals can be long and skinny. Similarly, (B) presents a problem both with a verb (know) that does not generally take the imperfective be+ing form, and with a situation (knowing someone) that, by definition, cannot in unmarked usages be iterative.

TABLE I

	A	H	F	I	J	G	D	M	K	C	E	L	B
26Dublin12-17	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
113Newry18-25	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
102Cork18-25	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
82Clare18-25	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
11Galway26-45	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
112Ventry26-45	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
104Tralee18-25	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
107Newry18-25	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2Dublin12-17	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
98Dublin6-11	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
111Omagh18-25	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
109Kerry18-25	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
108Limerick18-25	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
38Dundalk18-25	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
105Cork26-45	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
103Galway18-25	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
101Dalkey18-25	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
100Birr18-25	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
106Donegal18-25	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
39Roscommon18-25	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
110Longford18-25	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
97Macroom18-25	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
99Derry18-25	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
96Antrim18-25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
95London-Donegal 18-25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The first two sections of this paper show that the variable do+be occurs in a variety of syntactic frames, in which do marks the feature +durative, which in turn interacts with the imperfective be+ing auxiliary, the main verb, and adverbial markers to give grammatical or ungrammatical aspectual interpretations to the sentence. It remains in

the following section to suggest how the do+be variable may have become grammaticalised in contemporary Hiberno-English.

The Development of do+be

The history of the do+be variable is not well established. Bliss (1972: 80-81) argues that do+be is first found in the introductory Irish grammar by Lynch (1815). The evidence from Lynch (1815) is equivocal, however, in that his translations (p. 16) of Irish bíon-me, bíon-tu, etc. as I do be, thou dost be, etc., are clearly not intended as representations of idiomatic speech, but as paradigms to illustrate grammatical points. Without further evidence, it is impossible to know if Lynch (1815) was making an idiosyncratic translation based on general characteristics of do, discussed below, or referring to idiomatic do+be as used in Hiberno-English speech.

Bliss (1979: 293) revises the date for do+be to ca. 1700, though he gives no evidence for his change of mind. Only one of the 17th and early 18th century texts in Bliss (1979) uses a do+be form: John Michelburne's 'Ireland Preserved' from 1705. Though this example (p. 147),

(22) Why Neighbour, you do be mauke de Rauvish upon de young Womans, and when dere is a Purchas [robbery], you let others run away with it,

appears to be part of the do+be pattern, the absence of any comparative information from this period leaves the position of (22) in some doubt. No definitive answers concerning the chronology of the development of do+be can be given in the absence of further historical research.

Hiberno-English do+be must be seen, at the least, in the context of general English do, particularly as it was used from Middle English onwards. It is difficult to trace a path of development from other English forms of do to Hiberno-English do+be, largely because of the difficulty in assessing the frequency or rules governing the frequency of relevant structures in the spoken English of Ireland to which Irish learners of English would have been exposed in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. There is no reason to suppose that either exposure to these structures or the interpretations which were made of them in language learning would have been uniform: different conditions could be expected across divisions of social class, geography, age, and sex. With these reservations in mind, however, the major types of do which may have had a bearing on the development of do+be are discussed below. I suggest that the development of do+be involves the re-interpretation of periphrastic do into a grammatical marker which functions not as a lexical verb, but as a marker of the aspectual feature +durative.

Two major types of do can be clearly distinguished: a lexical do with the capability of establishing what Olk (1978) terms a 'predicate frame,' and a non-lexical do which is inserted to fulfill a variety of other functions. The following examples come from Irish historical and literary sources, including translations of Giraldus Cambrensis's Expugnacio Hibernica from the early 14th century (TCDa), the late 14th century (Rawlinson), and the 16th century (TCDb), all edited by Furnivall (1896), and the 16th century 'Book of Howth' (BH) edited by Brewer and Bullen (1871).[1]

Type I: Main verb do. Form: V+NP (lexical). Chronology: Old English onwards.

(23) he shold com to hyr, for sho was redy to do all that hym likede (TCDa: 2)

(24) And there he did the purchase that by authority of the Pope, ... was to him granted the lordship of the land (BH: 71)

Type II: Factitive/causative do. Form: do+infinitive (non-lexical). Chronology: Old English to 18th century (Visser 1969: 1342ff).

(25) He sent sone to Dermot Macmurgh, and diddo hym to undyrstand of his comynge (Rawlinson: 71)

(26) Sir Amore caused his footmen to be put within that hedge or ditch, and as the King did charge upon Sir Hamore, the shot of arrows came on so fast that their horses ... began to shrink back (BH: 81)

Type III: Pro-Verb do. Form: do (may be tense-marked) prospective, retrospective (non-lexical). Chronology: Old English onwards.

(27) "Well," said he, "my request is, that you shall not sleep so long as I tell you a tale;" and so did (BH: 10)

(28) worse did she like him after, till that the King of Leynester ... came to the said O'Rorke for business (BH: 43)

Type IV: Do+neg. Form: do not, contracted 'nt, etc. (non-lexical). Chronology: ca. 1280 onwards. Visser (1969: 1530ff).

(29) He ... did not reverence the clergy (BH: 162)

But cf.:

(30) they meant not to hinder any of the King's possessions (BH: 149)

(31) inquire what aremes the English had that lived not in castels (ca. 1645, Croker 1841: 7)

Type V: Q+do. Form: subject inversion with do or wh-question (non-lexical). Chronology: end of 14th century onwards (Visser 1969: 1544).

(32) "What meaneth this cry? ... do they think that we are crows, that we will flee with crying?" (BH: 185)

Type VI: Periphrastic do. Form: do (tense marked) +V. Chronology: possibly from pre-Norman times in speech, ca. 1175 in writing. (See Visser 1969: 1498, Hausmann 1974: 169.) Rare after early 18th century, though found in various dialects (Visser 1969, Wright 1913, Ihalainen 1976).

(33) the river of the Leffye was so frozen that men did leap and play with balls, and did make fire with timber and troffe [turf] upon it, the which fire did roast eels (BH: 161)

(34) commanding [t]hem to yeld them all goodes that did any waies belong to any English (ca. 1645, Croker 1841: 9)

It is periphrastic do which has attracted the most attention of any of the above forms. Hausmann (1974: 159) states that 'there is probably no problem in the history of English syntax more carefully explored and reported on than the origin of modern English periphrastic do,' while Visser (1969: 1488) maintains that 'there is hardly a point of syntax on which there is a greater cleavage of views.' More important than the origins of periphrastic do for this discussion, however, is the development of this form in its later usages.

Though Bliss (1972: 76) describes the 17th century form with do as a 'random variant' of the form without do, closer analyses reveal several conditioning factors which may have affected the choice of the do realisation. Salmon (1965: 117ff) noted that periphrastic do was relatively rare in Shakespearian drama: examining 1 Henry IV, for example, she noted 421 constructions using the simple form without do, and four constructions which used it. In the four plays which form the basis for Salmon's (1965) study, Salmon identifies 41 examples of periphrastic do, as opposed to an indeterminately large number of simple forms. These 41 examples are accounted for by Salmon via the principles of (a) emphasis, (b) formal or poetic register, (c) breaking up of

irregular consonant clusters, and (d) the presence of an adverb preceding the main verb.

Traugott (1972) has also observed the use of periphrastic do with verbs of perception in Middle and Early Modern English, suggesting (p. 139) that such an emphatic use is 'apparently to indicate that the speaker vouches for the correctness of his perception.' Barber (1976: 265), noting Ellegård's observations that non-lexical do has always been most common in questions and negatives, argues that periphrastic do in the first half of the 16th century was a marker of the literary register. From the second half of the century, the use of do in questions and negatives alone appears to distinguish the colloquial register, while do in affirmative declarative sentences becomes a mark of the literary register. Barber's (1976) interpretation is in keeping with Salmon's (1965) analysis, which Traugott (1972: 139) has suggested demonstrates that periphrastic do was 'rarely used in the everyday speech of the bourgeoisie.' Though the precise nature of the linguistic and stylistic factors governing the use of periphrastic do in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries requires more investigation, what cannot be ruled out is the possibility that various rules may have operated during different times and with differing geographical focal points.

The existence in the late 17th century of several rules (stylistic, phonological, etc.) conditioning the use of periphrastic do may have created a surface pattern of apparent disorder: it would not have been clear to the learner whether do had a semantic, stylistic, or other function. Schlauch (1959: 123) and Visser (1969: 1507ff) suggest that the rapid decline of periphrastic do in the 18th century may have been due to the influence of prescriptive grammarians in the late 17th century. If periphrastic do was associated with literary registers, then such prescriptions would have been especially effective. At more colloquial levels, however, the possibility remained open, particularly in varieties such as Hiberno-English, which would have been less under the influence of normative pressures from England, for periphrastic do to have some characteristics focused into a more clearly defined rule for do insertion. This function, found in East Somerset (Ihalainen 1976), Ireland, and in the Caribbean (Rickford 1977, Harris 1985), is generally described as the denotation of 'generic' or iterative aspect.

Sixteenth and 17th century corpora containing periphrastic do reveal two types of usage which could serve as a basis for language learners to interpret do as a generic reference marker: predications in which the context indicates generic or durative reference, and predications which include overt markers of duration. Both types are illustrated below: the first two examples are from England.

(35) and wel she may be named a woman, for as muche as she doth bere chyldren with wo and peyne, and also she is subject to man (1542. Furnivall 1870: 68)

(36) These that do counterfet the Cranke be yong knaves and yonge harlots (1567. Viles and Furnivall 1869: 51)

(37) That O'Flahertie did use to eate meate amongst them (1585. O'Flaherty 1846: 392)

(38) the geese and ducks repaire into their Master's yard, and the cockes and the hennes doe goe to roost for that time (1682. Hore 1862: 87)

(39) his friends ... said it was but a dream or a phantasy of the night that every man doth dream commonly (BH: 115)

(40) This John O'Neyll ... did enter many times in the English Pale (BH: 209)

(41) and yet she doth continually extort on poor people (1634. Gilbert 1892: xxiii-xxiv)

(42) he douth continue since to observe the same dayly, and since is cured of the womitting disease, and douth eath and drinke ever since with a great apetit and desire (1673. O'Flaherty 1846: 88-90)

(43) they do certainlie and constantlie returne into the same poole or Harbour of Wexford (1682. Hore 1862: 89).

By the process of grammar construction on the basis of the primary data generated by grammars, learners exposed to data such as (35)-(43) may have narrowed the interpretation of periphrastic do to that of an aspectual marker of duration. In making this identification, the way is open for the emergence of do as a non-lexical marker along the lines of historical Types III, IV, and V discussed above. The existence of examples such as (35) and (36) in British English, together with the use of do as a generic marker in some British dialects of English, suggests at least that part of the basis for the Irish use of do lies in general properties of the verb itself.

If the development of do as an aspectual marker can be assumed, its attachment to be follows from other general principles of English. In the stative frames for do+be with adjectival, adverbial, or nominal complements (Types II, IV, and V in the contemporary typology), be is the predicative verb. Since do is defined by syntactic rules

to go to a position preceding the predicative verb, with the result that the latter verb remains unmarked for tense, no special devices are needed to account for structures such as I do be sick, etc. In Type II, the insertion of do simply adds the +durative feature to the state of affairs denoted by the main verb.

For Type I of modern do+be, however, it is not immediately clear why be+ing should be involved. Goeke and Kornelius (1976: 48) and Bliss (1979: 294ff) have noted a preference in Hiberno-English for expanded verb forms using be+V-ing where other dialects prefer a simple inflected main verb. If it were the case that in the late 17th century, particularly, the imperfective be+ing form was in free variation with the simple inflected main verb, then the attachment of do to be would have originated only from marking durative aspect via do-insertion. The use of be+ing at that time would not necessarily have signified the feature -perfective as it does today. In later Hiberno-English, the resulting co-occurrence of do and be would have been re-interpreted by learners as a single unit, signifying both durative and imperfective aspectual features. This interpretation would be expected when the expanded verb form and the simple inflected main verb would no longer have been in free variation to the same extent as before. Once this free variation were reduced, the alternation between do+V and do+be V-ing would take on its present significance.

Conclusion

This paper has concentrated on developments within English which may underlie the genesis of do+be. The role of Irish in this development must be considered as well. I have suggested elsewhere (Kallen 1985b) that the primary role of Irish in this connection arises from two conditions: (1) Irish provides pre-existing aspectual categories which rely on the features +durative (denoted by bfonn in Modern Irish) and -perfective (denoted by -(e)ann in Modern Irish), and (2) the use of a tense-marked aspectual marker plus a verbal noun in Irish (tá/bfonn ... VN in Modern Irish) converges with the tense-marked aspectual do plus unmarked predicative verb of the do+be V-ing type in Hiberno-English. This convergence de-emphasises the canonical word order differences between the two languages, in separating tense/aspect marking functions from those of the main verb, and in placing the main verb, in both cases, at the end of the verbal unit.

If the above suggestions are correct, then Hiberno-English may illustrate what in creole studies is referrred to as 'relexification.' It is possible that do+be enetered Irish English via the general use of do as a durative marker in English on the one hand, and, on the other hand,

via the alternation in the language contact stage between be+ing forms and those with the simple verb. The pragmatic advantages gained by de-emphasising the syntactic differences between Irish and English word order via the use of expanded verbal forms (juxtaposing tá/bíonn ... VN and do+be V-ing), as well as the existence in Irish of an overtly-marked habitual aspect category, may have helped develop this process. Though do+be V-ing forms have attracted the most attention in the past, my research in Dublin has suggested that such forms may be on the decline, in favour of the contemporary Types II, III, IV, and V. These types, in simply adding a durative marker to a stative verb, rather than to an imperfective verb form, deviate less from dialects found elsewhere than do the do+be V-ing forms commonly associated with Hiberno-English. There is no reason to suspect that do+be forms will become obsolete in Ireland. It is possible, however, that a linguistic change for the do+be variable is in progress in Hiberno-English, and it will be important for the study of language variation and contact, as well as for Hiberno-English linguistics generally, to continue both diachronic and synchronic investigations in this area.

Notes

[1] In general, I have retained the spelling of the sources from which these examples are taken, except that the use of 'u' and 'v' has been modernised.

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STILL AT IT: IRISH/ENGLISH INTERACTION TODAY

A curious thing about language contact and cross-linguistic transference is that typologically significant differences between the languages cause relatively little interference. There is, for example, little if any evidence of VSO order in the English of Ireland. Moreover, young children learning Irish in immersion schools never seem to make a mistake about the verb-initial nature of declaratives, and they seem to absorb, say, internal NP word order and the different determiner systems with ease. At the same time there are occasional exceptions, like the phrase "while ago" (Standard English: "a while ago"), which appears to have transferred into Hiberno-English without its indefinite article: Irish is a language without an indefinite article.

If we take the original pattern of language shift as being similar to that proposed by Denison (1977: 21):

> Over several generations (at least three), language substitution may be schematically represented as taking place as follows (where B is the ousting and A the ousted language, and where I indicates the dominant and II the lesser degree of competence in a bilingual generation):
>
> A ⟶ AI/BII ⟶ BI/AII ⟶ B

we can translate that into syntactic terms by saying that

C.G.A ⟶ C.G.AI/BII ⟶ C.G.BI/AII ⟶ C.G.B

The question addressed by students of the syntax of Hiberno-English is: What happened to the core grammar (C.G.) of B, i.e. English, during the transition? (A core grammar is "one of the systems devised by fixing the parameters of U.G. in one of the permitted ways" (Chomsky 1981: 7 and footnote 6). Universal Grammar he defines as "the grammatical element of a shared biological endowment, namely the language faculty" (Chomsky 1982: 92).)

Speakers with core grammar A, presented with data from language B, presumably used that data to fix the parameters of U.G. for language B. It seems that the language faculty immediately recorded that which it perceived as most different from the old.

Less significant differences, however, seem to have been identified less precisely. It seems, for example, that the parameters laid out for the tense/aspect system of Hiberno-English borrowed from the system in use in Irish, leading to the

acceptance by Hiberno-English speakers of "does be" and "do be". The same thing applied to notions like "want" and "need", which are less clearly distinguished semantically in Irish than they are in English.

The purpose of this paper is to examine what is happening in the modern contact situation. The speech being studied is that of balanced bilinguals, who use both languages in their work and home/family domains. A striking characteristic of the speech of such bilinguals is that it is not always generated totally by the grammar of English or by the grammar of Irish, but involves both systems. This phenomenon is called code-mixing.

There are, in fact, three separate phenomena that occur at the interface of two language systems: code-mixing, code-switching and lexical borrowing. I define them as follows. Code-switching is an actual language change; it occurs, typically at sentence level, when a person ceases to speak (say) Irish and continues his discourse in English. (I will modify this definition later.) Weinreich (1964) felt that this was the only coherent way that a speaker could use two languages. However, further study showed that bilinguals do, in fact, mix their languages at an intrasentential level, and in a rule-governed way.

Sridhar (1980: 408f.) distinguishes borrowing from code-mixing as follows:

1. Mixed elements do not necessarily fill "lexical gaps" in the host language.

2. The mixed elements are often sequences longer than single words.

3. The mixed elements are not restricted to a more or less limited set accepted by the speech community of the host language - on the contrary the entire second language system is at the disposal of the code mixer.

4. The mixed elements are not necessarily assimilated into the host language by regular phonological and morphological processes, and finally as observed by Pfaff (1979),

5. the two terms make totally different claims about the competence of the individual speaker: borrowing can occur in monolingual speech, while code-mixing is necessarily a product of bilingual competence.

However, while this definition is an excellent one, there are difficulties with it in the context of Irish. For example, I have the word "cuisneoir" meaning "refrigerator". My normal English term is "fridge". However, in home/family domains and in informal conversations in Irish, I will invariably use "fridge". The same can be said of words like "fag", "toothbrush", "battery", "bicycle", etc. How does one account for these words? Native speaker intuition typically describes them

as being English, but as they are invariably used in certain registers, it is tempting to consider them to be borrowings. A decision on the exact nature of these borrowings/mixes does not affect the conclusions reached in this paper, since, as will become apparent, noun mixes in isolation are relatively insignificant.

Work on the syntactic characteristics of code-mixing has been done mainly in America, and within the framework of Extended Standard Theory and Government and Binding Theory. Attempts have been made to describe the rules governing code-mixing in terms of constraints on where mixing may occur, and attempts have been made to identify the grammars generating code-mixed utterances.

The two principal constraints proposed to date have been

1. The Free Morpheme Constraint. Poplack (1979: 585f.) proposed that: "Codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme."

Data from Irish/English code-mixing shows that this constraint does not operate. The following sentences come from my own data, which were collected in two ways: by recording long segments of speech from selected respondents and by noting items heard in relaxed conversation.

Drive-álfaidh sé abhaile mé
([Drive + PLURAL] him home me)

Dhéan sé phon-áil orm
([Make + PAST] he phone-ing home

Tá sí sin rófussy
(Is she that [DEMONSTRATIVE] too fussy)

Táim anahappy
(Am I [INFLECTIONAL] very happy)

B'fhearr liom cycl-áil ná siúl
(Would prefer cycle-ing than walking)

A básy calf
(A death-y calf, i.e. an unthriving calf)

He was cannráning
(He was whine-ing)

He's always gearáning
(He's always complaining)

Clearly, therefore, the constraint on bound morpheme switching appears to operate only in certain contexts, and we must search for a universal principle from which this constraint will follow in predictable circumstances.

2. Poplack also proposes the Equivalence Constraint:

> Code switches will tend to occur at points in a discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e. at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map on to each other. According to this simple constraint, a switch is inhibited from occurring within a constituent generated by a rule from one language which is not shared by the other. (1979: 586)

Sridhar and Sridhar (1980: 412f.) felt that what they called the "Dual Structure Principle" should be incorporated into this constraint:

> The internal structure of the guest constituent need not conform to the constituent structure rules of the host language, so long as its placement in the host sentence obeys the rules of the host language. [...] the internal consistency of the mixed element is autonomously generated by a separate set of rules and the really crucial constraint concerns only its external relationship with the elements of the host sentence.

Woolford (1983 and forthcoming) proposes the following model:

> The two monolingual grammars cooperate in the production of codeswitched utterances, but none of the rules of either grammar are altered in any way. Phrase structure rules are drawn freely from both grammars during the construction of constituent structure trees, but the lexicon of each grammar is limited to filling only those terminal nodes created by phrase structure rules drawn from the same language [...]. [...] the word formation processes of the two grammars remain entirely separate, and do not interact in any way. (1983: 534f.)

This generation of mixed elements by separate sets of rules leaves us with a problem with data on, for example, pluralization in Irish/English code-mixing as indicated by:

> Fuair sé dhá charton yogurt
> ([Find + PAST] he two carton yogurt,
> i.e. he found two cartons of yogurt)
>
> Cheannaigh sé trí phackage fags
> ([Buy + PAST] he three package fags
>
> Bhí cheithre freezer lán d'iasc aige
> ([Have + PAST] four freezers full of fish at-him)

and with sentences like:

Bhí lá great acu
([Be + PAST] day great at them,
i.e. they had a great day)

Tá mé a dhul a mheetáil tráthnóna Déardaoin í
([Be + PRESENT] I at going at meeting evening Thursday her,
i.e. I'm going to meet her on Thursday evening)

Sankoff, Poplack and Woolford all see code-mixing as involving three grammars - the grammars of the two languages involved and a third grammar which is composed of the union of the other two, and which comprises the PS rules common to the two languages. On the other hand, Joshi (1982) proposes a system comprising only G1 and G2, the grammars of the two languages involved. She proposes a switching rule:

> Am x Ae, where Lm is the matrix (host) language and Le is the embedded (or guest) language, where Am is a category of Gm, and Ae is a category of Ge, and Am Ae. At any stage of the derivation the rule can be invoked permitting Am to be switched to Ae. Thus further derivation will be carried out by using the rules of Ge, starting with Ae.

Like Sankoff, Poplack and Woolford, however, Joshi holds to the idea that all embedded segments are generated by Ge, which, as we have seen from the data, does not fit the facts of Irish/English code-mixing.

So is there a solution to the problem? I would submit the following as a possibility.

The basic facts are these: bilinguals can conduct three kinds of linguistic activity: they can select one of their two languages, they can switch from one language to another, or they can mix their two languages. In the first two of these situations, one grammar and one grammar only operates at a time. The problem is what happens in the third situation. The first part of that problem is to distinguish accurately between a switch and a mix. The second requires a description of the nature of the grammar generating the mixed segment.

With regard to the first part, i.e. what is a switch and what is a mix, it was clear from my data that the language of V had considerable ramifications for the language of discourse. Examination of Subject and Object NPs (in Irish S $\longrightarrow$ V Np (NP)) (see McCloskey 1979) showed that DET in these constituents was never switched. Test sentences were constructed in order to obtain acceptability judgements. Of 20 sentences tested on every one of 10 respondents, only one gained partial acceptance - the respondent said that he would probably accept it from another speaker but would not utter it himself. Further examination of NPs in code-mixed utterances showed that in PPs the language of P determined the language of the following DET. This phenomenon again was tested, and acceptability judgements were equally firm.

This evidence led to the formulation of two hypotheses. The first, which is not dealt with in this paper, is that in a hierarchy of switchability, nouns come at the most switchable end of the scale. The second is that *V and P are of particular* importance in code-mixed utterances.

In Chomsky's work on Government and Binding, V and P are not only proper governors, they are also the only case assigners. Government is defined as follows:

> α governs β if $\alpha = X^0$ (in the sense of $\bar{X}$ theory), α c-commands β, and β is not protected by a maximal projection. (1982:19)

The central notion of Government Theory is the relation between the head of a construction and categories dependent on it. A lexical head governs its complements in the phrase of which it is head. In the light of data available on NP switching in Irish, it appears that government not only assigns case, but in fact determines the language of its NP complements. It is unclear whether this is a function of proper government, or whether the switch is blocked by a prohibition on cross-linguistic case assignment. What does appear to be the case is that a switch on V or P is a language switch, in that the grammar which generates V or P must also be the grammar that generates its NP complements.

How does this concept agree with data from other language mixes? Joshi's Marathi/English data provides examples like the following:

kahi khurcyáwar ("some chairs on")
kahi chairswar
*some chairswar (which Joshi herself found problematic)
*on kahi kahi khurcyá

All of the above examples follow the proposed rule that the language of the governor decides the language of the governed segment. The same is true of Spanish/English data like McClure (1977):

I put the forks <u>en las mesas</u>

However, what about

<u>Todos los Mexicanos</u> were riled up (Pfaff 1979)

It may not be as problematic as it appears. Chomsky assigns Nominative Case under INFL as follows:

$$S \longrightarrow NP \quad INFL \quad VP$$

INFL can be [±TENSE], finite or infinite. Where INFL is [+TENSE], it will also be [+AGR], AGR being a complex of the agreement features of person, number and gender. Chomsky proposes [+AGR] to have the feature [+N] and revises Case Theory

to enable [AGR] to be a governing element which assigns case in INFL. This revision includes [+N -V +INFL] as a case assigner along with the [-N] governing categories which operate within VP. *So perhaps in this instance case is not assigned under the laws* of government as presently formulated, thus leaving NP free in its choice of language.

An example of Hebrew/English data taken from Doron (1983) is also interesting:

Ha faculty yictarxu kol exad to give a talk
(The faculty will-have-to each one give a talk)

but: *the faculty yictarxu kol exad to give a talk

Does this support the theory that the underlying structure of Hebrew is VSO, and are the underlying governing principles still those of the VSO order?

While many questions await a satisfactory answer, it seems that we can legitimately distinguish between switch and mix in terms of the theory of government. A switch on a governing category is a switch to the grammar of the language of the governor. A mix, therefore, must occur on a non-governing element. So we must ask, what grammar operates in such a situation?

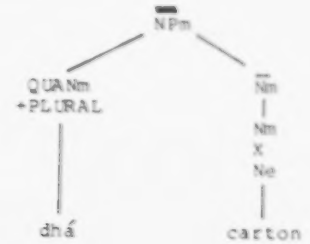
Let us return to our previous example:

Fuair sé dhá c(h)arton yogurt
(Found he two carton yogurt)

If we were to accept that Le insertions were produced by Ge, there would be three problems with this sentence.

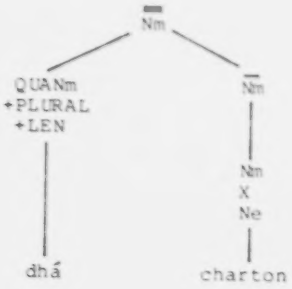
First, the absence of the plural marker "s" from "carton". In Irish, as in other Celtic languages, it is possible to have semantic rather than morphological plural marking. In this sentence dha would be marked as [+PLURAL]. Therefore, if the grammar of Irish is the operational one, we would predict (i), which proves to be accurate:

(i)



The second problem is the lenition of the "c" of "carton". If Ge were operational, lenition would be impossible, since this kind of lenition is not a rule of Ge. In Gm, however, "dha" is marked as [+LEN], and if Gm is operational, we would predict (ii):

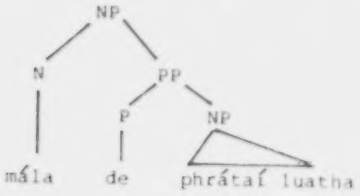
(ii)



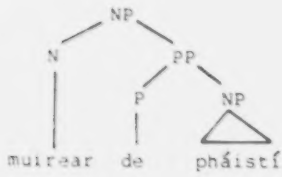
(The NmXNe switch does not affect the lenition of the Ne item, since the [+LEN] is a characteristic carried forward from QUANm, and is not affected by the switch.)

The third problem is the absence of the preposition "of" between "carton" and "yogurt". This again can be explained by the AmXAe rule. In Irish, it is possible for prepositions in this kind of situation to be realized as Ø. That a preposition exists in this situation at all is evident in constructions like the following:

(a) mála de phrátaí luatha
(sack of potatoes early)

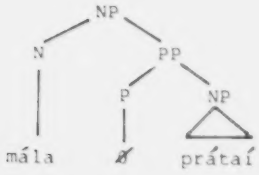


(b) muirear de pháistí
(family of children)

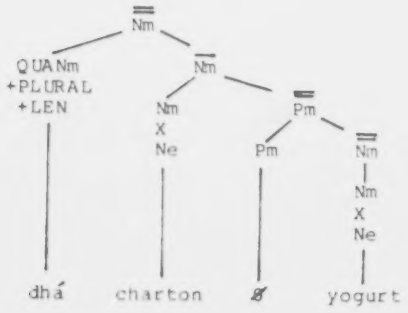


In certain constructions, however, PREP can be dropped. This also leads to the dropping of the [+LENITING] characteristic of P, and gives the following configuration:

mála prátaí
(sack potatoes)



So, for our "dhá charton yogurt" we predict:



which is the acceptable version.

The conclusions proposed in this paper are therefore two:

1. A change of language on a governing category means a change of grammar from Gm to Ge, that is to say, such a change is a language switch.

2. A change of language on a non-governing category is a language mix, and the operative grammar on language mixing is Gm.

While these conclusions must be tentative, it is interesting that they support, and are supported by, independent evidence from Government Binding Theory.

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ENGLISH INTERROGATION, INVERSION AND DO-SUPPORT.

Interrogation can be marked phonetically by a distinctive intonational pattern, morphologically by employing particles and question words (wh-words) and syntactically, apparently, by non-canonical ordering of the major constituents Subject (S) and Verb (V). There are no rules or constraints to determine which of these possibilities a natural language will use. In Modern English a periphrastic verb form, in addition, is obligatory in all but wh-Subject questions.

Ultan (1978) found that,after intonation, question particles in the form of pre- or post-verbal affixes or enclitics are the most widespread device for marking yes/no questions in the 79 randomly chosen languages he surveyed. Subject-Verb inversion appears to be a rather uncommon strategy, occurring in only seven of the 28 languages with a postulated ..SV.. syntax. Of these 7 languages four have also question particles. Rumanian, French and English are the 3 languages in the sample of 79 that seem to mark yes/no questions syntactically by inversion.

This notion of inversion has an established place in the studies of the English language. Diachronically observed, inversion in declarative main clauses has declined since the earlier-known stages of English. In Wulfstan, according to Bean (1983) 40% of structures have a XVS order, whereas XSV - the Modern English canonical order - occurs only in 2%. Green (1980) catalogued the 'inverted' structures in Modern English along pragmatic and functional parameters and had to set up "a large number of inversion rules (on the order of twenty to forty..)"but concluded that these XVS sentences were perhaps better analysed as "semi-frozen relics of processes more productive in an earlier stage of the language."(p. 599)

The present stage of other Germanic languages resembles the Old English surface structure word order. "Counts for spoken Norwegian, German and Dutch show that about 40% of all declarative main clauses have some other constituent than the subject in front position." (Gerritsen 1934: 110)

In Steele's (1978) corpus of 63 representative world languages only a small number of so-called 'rigid' or 'mixed' SVO languages have a variant surface structure with 'inverted' ..VS.. syntax. For most of these 'inversion' languages (Icelandic, Norwegian, Dutch, German, Italian, Spanish) there is no agreement among linguists what their underlying or dominant word order is. Faarlund (1981) argued for a XVS syntax for Norwegian together with a general process of FRONTING to generate all possible surface structures. It is only possible

to postulate a ..S..V word order for the 'mixed' languages by assuming a process of inversion. Inversion has not been proven to be a possible process. It is, I argue, a descriptive term taken over uncritically from earlier grammars.

Do interrogative clauses in Modern English, in fact, have an 'inverted' ..VS.. surface syntax? The analysis depends on the classification of the tensed (=finite +f) constituent. The members of this constituent are either a tensed auxiliary, a tensed modal or a tensed 'Dummy'DO. A general schema has the the configuration:

(wh nonSubject)	aux mod DO	+f	S	(aux_{-f})	V_{-f}	X
(when)	have can did		you	been	seeing see see	him?

*
(when) saw you him?

which excludes wh-Subject questions since they have the following forms:

wh Subject	V_{+f}		X			
who	saw		him?			
wh Subject	aux mod DO	+f	(aux_{-f})		V_{-f}	X
who	has can did			been	seeing see see	him?

These patterns show that English interrogatives do not exhibit a ..VS.. 'inverted' word order, where V signifies the 'lexical' or 'full' or 'main' verb. A ..S..V.. syntax is systematically maintained throughout because of the grammaticalisation of periphrastic DO.

Like Butler, in his English Grammar from the year 1633, modern linguists analyse this periphrastic DO as a tense carrier and some postulate a syntactic constituent AUX containing it. Whether TENSE is seen as the nucleus of the constituent AUX or

as an underlying full verb is of no consequence to the surface structures: at some stage in the derivations TENSE has to become attached to another constituent since there are no free morphemes for TENSE in English. After applying any of the following rules:

- Inversion
- Negative Insertion
- Emphasis Placement

configurations arise where TENSE is no longer contiguous with the lexical verb or an auxiliary/modal element, i.e. where TENSE has become 'stranded'. It can then be stated that this is the syntactic environment where the rule DO-Support applies. 'Dummy'DO is thus claimed to be explained as the TENSE-carrying element in derivations where a 'stranded' TENSE occurs.

In diachronic studies within a generative framework the constituent AUX is seen to acquire new members. First auxiliaries become part of it with the development of complex verb forms. Lightfoot (1979) suggests an internally motivated re-analysis of the closed set of 'preterite-present' verbs in the sixteenth century, whereby these 'defective' verbs also become members as the so-called modals. As a consequence of this re-analysis, according to Lightfoot, radical changes take place in the formation of interrogative and negated clauses which in turn lead to the grammaticalisation of DO-Support.

The 'preterite-present' verbs in German had a remarkably parallel development to their English counterparts as they also

(i) lost the ability to take direct objects

(ii) belonged to an inflectional class of verbs where third person singular did not have a special ending

(iii) had some isomorphic forms in past and subjunctive giving rise to opacity

(iv) do not tolerate a 'zu'/'to' infinitive but command a bare infinitive

This, however, did not provoke a re-analysis and it did not give rise to an obligatory periphrastic DO.

The development of negation, likewise, was very similar in both English and German up to the 15th century. Since that time, however, as Jespersen (1966) sees it "German remains at the stage of development reached towards the end of the middle period when the weak NE, EN had been given up- and thus the negative continues in the awkward position after the verb.... In English, on the other hand, we witness a development that obviates this disadvantage. The Elizabethans began to use the auxiliary DO indiscriminately in all kinds of sentences in which it served either the purpose of emphasis or a grammatical purpose."(p. 10)

Why did only the Elizabethans and not the Germans or

Dutch employ periphrastic DO to eliminate this 'awkward' post-verbal position of the negative morpheme? This is the more surprising as it seems (Hausmann 1974) that the West Germanic languages shared a periphrastic structure with a substitute verb DON. In Modern German it is used when the verb is topicalised, resulting in a 'reprise' construction:

Lachen tut er nicht oft.
laugh does he not often
V_{-f} DO_{+f} S neg X

Variations in word order are possible because of the process of FRONTING resulting in an optional 'Dummy'DO:

Er tut nicht oft lachen.
he does not often laugh
S DO_{+f} neg X V_{-f}

Tut er nicht oft lachen?
does he not often laugh
DO_{+f} S neg X V_{-f}

If it is correct that a substitute verb DON and FRONTING were features in West Germanic, the rise of the optional DO/TUN in English/German is then adequately explained via the 'reprise' construction and its variants.

This is not the generally assumed explanation for the origin of periphrastic DO, however. Visser (1952: 503-6) sees it arising out of the semantic development of the full verb DO whilst Ellegård (1953: 23ff) favours the hypothesis that it developed out of the use of DO as a causative verb, i.e. out of "He did build a church" with the meaning of "He had a church built".

Concerning the spread of optional periphrastic DO, it is held that this construction began as an unsystematic variant in all clauses before it became restricted to and eventually grammaticalised in negated and interrogative clauses. This assumption is anything but supported by Ellegård's (1953) findings. There he states that "The relative frequency of DO is higher in negative sentences and questions all the time, even in the 15th century" (p. 161) and he emphasises"We should also note that in some 15th century texts all or almost all the periphrastic instances are interrogative ones...The small size of the question sample at this time makes definite conclusions hazardous, but nothing contradicts the view that the popular language adopted the use of DO more readily in questions than in affirmative declarative sentences."(p. 168)

Baghdikian (1976) who investigated 4,000 examples of negative sentences in a corpus of 200,000 words from prose texts at the end of the 16th century, confirms the trend: "The main conclusion here is that, if counts of interrogative sentences are

contrasted with those of declarative sentences, it can be seen that DO-periphrasis is strongly favoured by the interrogative pattern."(p. 306) She also noted that there is a tendency to use a periphrastic verb form more frequently in negative than in positive clauses. As Ellegård elaborates:"There is no reason to suppose, as has often been done, that DO was at any time less frequent in the negative sentence. In my material the negative group consistently has a higher frequency than the affirmative one."(p. 193)

It is probably unrealistic to expect circumstantial evidence in the written language for the hypothesis that periphrastic DO had a specific function in questions and negated clauses for those speakers who favoured its use. What has been established, however, by Ellegård is that the DO-usage originated in the Western dialects. "The origin of the DO-construction...has to be sought in the Central and Western parts of the South, from where it spread eastwards and northwards. All through the 15th century it is absent in prose works from the North, and is rare in the East. In the 16th and 17th centuries the DO-form continues to be used much less often in the North than elsewhere."(p. 164) This finding is rather puzzling for Ellegård as he champions the hypothesis that periphrastic DO developed out of causative DO. "..the conclusion seems inevitable that causative DO x, (x=Vi), though not unknown, never had a very strong position in the Western dialect...The very frequent use of DO x ...in late 13th century south-Western verse texts thus remains a problem. If it is not a development of an earlier widespread use of causative DO in these dialects, how is the construction to be explained?"(p. 55)

Ellegård is aware of Preusler's(1938) suggestion that periphrastic DO in English may be due to Celtic influence but he dismisses this possibility:"In spite of the fact that my investigation tends to show that English periphrastic DO originated in the South West, which seems to lend some support to Preusler's thesis, I do not think that it is acceptable.... Celtic influence is generally believed to heve been fairly insignificant in English..."(p. 119) Visser (1969) "cannot but agree with 1953 Ellegård" and adds "The possibility of a Celtic origin of the English periphrastic construction is as slight as the possibility of Celtic influence on English syntax generally."(p. 1495) Scheffer (1975) investigating the progressive verb forms in English declares likewise:"In some districts, where Anglo-Saxons and Celts lived as neighbours, the latter may have acquired a degree of proficiency in English. The result was a language in which English vocabulary was as it were superimposed on Celtic syntax. Its syntactic influence on English was obviously restricted to regions where people were bi-lingual. It affected the English of the English-speaking Celts, not English syntax in its entirety."(p. 230)

It affected, on the other hand, the English of the English planters in Ireland. Bliss (1977) remarks on this apparently

unusual phenomenon: "The extent of Irish influence on the language of the planters may seem surprising, but the fact is not in doubt. On this point we have the very valuable evidence of Swift, who castigates the kind of English spoken two generations after the Cromwellian plantations in his burlesque pieces, A DIALOGUE IN HIBERNIAN STILE and IRISH ELOQUENCE..."(p. 13) "...the sentences quoted reflect the usage of someone who is thinking in Irish but speaking in English. Since the planters themselves would not think in Irish, they can only have picked up such idioms through daily intercourse with English-speaking Irishmen."(p. 14)

To challenge the traditional view that there was no possible influence on the English language by the English speaking Celts, one need only point to the ironic fact that the English language movement in the 14th century seems to have been led by Cornishmen. Strang (1970) elaborates: "Ranulf Higden...says that French-medium instruction had been customary since the Conquest, but his translator (John of Trevisa) is able to bring the story up to date in an interpolation. He dates the first introduction of English into schools from the Black Death (1348-9); Johan Cornwall and Richard Pencrych started English-medium teaching but now (1385) 'in all the grammer-scoles of Engeland children leveth Frensch and construeth and lurneth in Englysch.'" (p. 219) As to the possibility of areal language contact Strang remarks:"That some Celtic speech was used in Cumberland, Cornwall and along the Welsh border is fairly certain, but these areas also had some English, and the proportions cannot be determined."(p. 219)

It is an undisputable fact, however, that Cornish and to a lesser degree Welsh were gradually replaced by English and whilst this was happening there must have been bilingualism for a considerable period. As this biligualism was unidirectional, with polyglot Celts but none or few Celtic-speaking English, it is hardly surprising that few Celtic words entered the English vocabulary. As far as syntax is concerned, on the other hand, there is growing evidence from second language learning and bilingualism that grammatical interference is rampant between source and target language and between dominant and non-dominant language.

To speculate why a native Celtic speaker would favour a periphrastic verb form in interrogative and negated clauses of his second language English and what functions it could fulfil, it is necessary to look at the systems of interrogation and negation in the Celtic languages and to contrast them with those in Germanic languages.

All through their known history the Celtic languages have had a verb-initial surface structure word order and pre-verbal particles are recorded from their earliest extant texts. These particles are not only used for negation and interrogation but also for time aspect and modality.

Schematically the surface structure syntax of declarative main clauses, yes/no questions and negation in the Celtic language can be represented as:

$$(\text{Question particle}) + (\text{Negation particle}) \quad \text{Verb}_{+f} \quad \text{Subject} \quad X \quad X$$

Only 'verbal' negation (Neg-V) and no 'constituent' negation (Neg-NP) is possible. Compare these examples from Modern Irish and English:

Irish Neg-V	Ni raibh aon airgead agam. Neg was any money on+me
English Neg-NP	I had no money.
English Neg-V	I didn't have any money.

In Modern German 'verbal' negation or rather 'clausal' negation (Neg-Clause) is possible only when the NP is definite; no equivalents to some/any exist:

German Neg-NP	Ich hatte kein Geld. I had no money
*German Neg-V	*Ich hatte Geld nicht. I had money not
German Neg-Clause	Ich hatte das Geld nicht. I had the money not

It is also noteworthy that English but not German developed contracted negation morphemes 'fused' to the preceding tensed auxiliary, modal, DO, lexical BE or HAVE. Jespersen (1966) found that "In writing the forms in n't make their appearance about 1660 and are already frequent in Dryden's, Congreve's and Farquhar's comedies.....Swift..brands as examples of 'the continual corruption of our English tongue' such forms as cou'dn't ha'n't, can't, shan't; but nevertheless he uses some of them very often in his Journal to Stella." (p. 117)

In the Celtic languages there are no corresponding morphemes to the English yes/no or German ja/nein. Answers are expressed by either repeating the verb of the corresponding question or by using a substitute verb resulting in a 'truncated' verbal answer. 'Truncated' verbal answers are also a feature of English. They are also structures where periphrastic DO occurs. No equivalent constructions have developed in German.

English	(No,) he doesn't.	(Yes,) he has.
German	*Nein, er tut nicht.	* Ja, er hat.

As Lightfoot (1979) has pointed out it seems that the existence of auxiliaries and the development of the modals provoked a radical re-analysis. He proposed a 'Transparency Principle' to explain the linguistic reaction of presumably mono-lingual native speakers. I would argue that the re-analysis of these periphrastic structures was instigated by Celtic speakers of English. In their native languages there were no equivalents to auxiliaries or modals. Either pre-verbal particles were employed to express the notions of aspect of time and modality or the characteristic Celtic construction consisting of the verb BE and a 'verbal noun' was used.

A Celtic speaker could have analysed periphrastic structures he encountered in English

- in declarative clauses

He has (not) gone home.

He must (not) go home.

He did (not) go home.

as consisting of:

Subject	pre-verbal particles	Verb
	$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{aux}\\ \text{mod}\\ \text{DO}\end{matrix}\right\}$ (+neg)	

- in interrogative clauses

Has(n't) he gone home?

(When) Must(n't) he go home?

Did(n't) he go home?

as consisting of :

(Question word) Question particle (Neg part) S V

For negated interrogative clauses there are variant constructions possible which have the same word order as their German equivalents:

English (When) Has he not gone home?

German (Wann) Ist er nicht heimgegangen?

Because of the pattern of negation in Celtic, a Celtic speaker of English would conceivably favour clause-initial negation as well as a pre-verbal negation.

It is also understandable that he had a special need for a question particle in yes/no questions, since these were not at all marked for him as they are superficially similar to a declarative main clause in his native Celtic VSO language.

Elleg̊rd (1953: 204) checked the frequency of DO-Support in the various question types and discovered to his surprise that yes/no interrogative clauses had the highest frequency.

Supporting evidence that the traditional and the generative analysis of the English interrogative system involving inversion in a crucial way, is inadequate comes from research into child language acquisition and 'natural' second language learning.

When Bellugi (1965) studied the development of questions in a group of three children at Harvard University, she found that at first yes/no questions differ from corresponding declarative clauses only in a distinctive rising intonation clause-finally, whilst constituent questions consist of a wh-word followed by a declarative clause structure. At a later stage in the language development, when in yes/no questions the auxiliary, modal or DO occurs correctly, and it could be assumed that the child had acquired both the INVERSION and DO-SUPPORT rules, constituent questions still exhibit the form wh- word followed by declarative clause, thus lacking the two postulated rules.

Felix (1978) observed four English-speaking children learning German as a second language in a 'natural' unstructured way. She came to the conclusion that "the usual generative analysis of interrogative structures is not applicable for natural second language learning" (p. 146, my translation), since it appeared that clause-initial wh-words, or clause-initial verbs, auxiliaries and modals are perceived as question introducing forms, and that there are no indications of INVERSION or WH-MOVEMENT rules being implied.

In their grammar for students learning English as a second language, Leech & Svartvik (1975) introduce the term 'operator' to highlight the important function that all first auxiliaries in a complex verb phrase have in common when they occur in questions or before the negation particle not in negated clauses. The periphrastic DO is explained in the following way: "When a verb phrase contains no auxiliary verbs, it contains no word that can act as operator for the purpose of forming yes/no questions and negative sentences with not... ..."(p. 257)

Applied linguistics seems therefore to have been forced to a similar analysis of interrogation and negation in Modern English as the more historical and comparative approach outlined earlier, namely:

Modern English employs the tensed part of a periphrastic verb form or tensed DO as question markers and/or 'support' for the negation particle.

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SECTION D

SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIATION

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SYNTACTIC VARIATION IN THE SPEECH OF BELFAST SCHOOL CHILDREN

Until fairly recently most research in sociolinguistics has been concerned with phonological variation and little attention has been directed towards variation at the level of syntax (though see, for example, Cheshire 1982, Harris 1982, Policansky 1982). Furthermore, most of this work has used adults or adolescents as informants and so little is known about the extent to which younger children exhibit sociolinguistic variation in their speech. The present paper reports on a research project involving the speech of primary school children in Belfast, aged 8 to 9 years, and looks at the relationships between linguistic variation and the sex and social class of the children as well as stylistic variation attributable to the nature of the speech situation. One aim of the research is to discover whether sex-marked speech patterns reported for adults and adolescents, in which it has been suggested that male speakers are generally more non-standard than females, have been acquired and established in primary school children. A second aim is to examine the extent to which children of this age can shift styles according to the speech situation. However, as the present paper will report on one speech style only, this aspect will not be of further concern here.

Subjects

Twenty-four school children were used as informants for the research, consisting of twelve boys and twelve girls. Each of these groups was further subdivided according to social class, yielding four groups of six children. The working class group attend a co-educational primary school in the Lower Shankill Road in Belfast. This is a typical working class community blighted with high unemployment and rehousing problems. The middle class children come from two single sex preparatory schools in the middle class Malone area of Belfast. These children enjoy private schooling. All the children are in primary 5 and are aged 8 or 9 years. Thus it can be assumed that by this age they have acquired the basic grammatical patterns of English and that developmental factors can be disregarded.

Methodology

Three different speech situations were used for the collection of the data. These were:

1) a semi-structured group task style;
2) a formal individual interview;
3) an informal group natural play situation.

The present paper is concerned with the first of these situations. The task consisted of twelve cartoon drawings on separate cards, each portraying a particular disability, for example, a man with no hair or a blind person. The children were asked to rank order the cards according to their subjective interpretation of the seriousness of each disability. It was estimated that the norms of group participation would overcome the constraints on the production of casual speech set by the nature of the school setting and the presence of the researcher. The children were recorded in self-elected groups of three over a period of forty-five minutes with the use of a concealed tape recorder in an informal setting in the schools.

The Syntactic Variables

The following are the syntactic variables which were examined in this study:

1. Vernacular past tenses - e.g. "I seen"
2. Vernacular past participles - e.g. "It got broke"
3. Demonstrative pronouns - e.g. "I love them sweets"
4. Negative concord - e.g. "I didn't feel nothin"
5. Singular concord - e.g. "Me and Denise was playin"
6. Adverbial ly-deletion - e.g. "I near fell"
7. Comparatives/Superlatives - e.g. "he's worser"
8. Ins-Suffix - e.g. "themins/yuzins"
9. S-Suffix - e.g. "Mines was the best"
10. For-to complement - e.g. "I went for to see him"
11. Whenever - e.g. "whenever he came back in"

Figure 1: The Syntactic Variables

Some of these variables, such as negative concord or vernacular past tense forms, have been reported for other non-standard dialects, while others are peculiar to Belfast vernacular (Policansky 1982). The scores for each of the variables appear in Table 1.

	WORKING CLASS			MIDDLE CLASS		
	Boys	Girls	Combd.	Boys	Girls	Combd.
Past Tenses	59	40	49.5	0	1	0.5
Past Participles	45	16	30	0	3	1.5
Demonstratives	39	33	29.5	0	0	0
For-To	8	0	4	0	0	0
Ins-Suffix	50	16	33	-	-	-
Comparatives/ Superlatives	20	0	10	0	0	0
Ly-Deletion	32	29	30.5	0	0	0
S-V Concord	50	34	42	3	0	1.5
Negative Concord	20	9	14.5	0	42	21
S-Suffix	44	16	30	0	0	0
Whenever	-	-	-	11	30	20.5

Table 1: Group Averages in Percentages

A frequency index was calculated giving a percentage score for the number of non-standard occurrences divided by the number of total occurrences (standard and non-standard)of each variable. The groups are separated for sex and social class. As can be seen from Table 1, the vernacular scores are considerably higher for the working class group than for the middle class group. Indeed, in several cases the middle-class children had either no or minimal vernacular scores. The highest frequencies for the working class group involved past tense forms. Other frequently occurring non-standard forms were singular concord, adverbial -ly deletion and past participle forms. The only variable which was used frequently by the middle class group was whenever, used here to mark single events in the past, that is, equivalently to standard when. This usage may be due to hypercorrection. Unfortunately no counts are available for this variable from the working class group as there were no instances

in the data. A second variable which yielded moderate scores for the middle class group was negative concord. This score is attributable to the middle class girls.

Table 1 also shows the group averages in percentages for both sexes within each social group for each grammatical variable. The scores for the working class boys are generally considerably higher than those of the working class girls. The only variables which yielded similar scores were demonstrative pronouns and adverbial -ly deletion. The high frequency of non-standard occurrences for the boys is illustrated in the past tense forms, singular concord, the -ins suffix and past participle forms. For the girls the most commonly used vernacular forms were past tenses and singular concord. It can also be seen from Table 1 that both the middle class boys and girls had zero scores for five out of ten variables. The girls scored a little higher than the boys for past tense and past participle forms, while the boys scored slightly higher than the girls for singular concord. As far as negative concord and whenever were concerned, the girls scored considerably higher than the boys. Finally, comparing across sex and class, it can be seen that the working class boys scored considerably higher than the middle class boys on all variables and that the same applied to the girls except in the case of negative concord, where the middle class girls scored higher than their working class counterparts. Neither working class nor middle class girls used for to complements or non-standard comparatives or superlatives.

It is important to note that group scores can conceal individual differences. Table 2 shows individual variation within each group for each social class.

Non-Standard Index	1	2	3	4	5	6	Group Average
W/C Boys	48 / 72.9	15 / 40	34 / 38.2	61 / 50.8	21 / 33.3	10 / 60	49.2
W/C Girls	39 / 48.7	34 / 35.2	13 / 38.4	26 / 11.5	5 / 60	10 / 20	35.6
M/C Boys	37 / 0	48 / 4.1	20 / 5	42 / 0	26 / 0	19 / 0	1.5
M/C Girls	44 / 27.2	22 / 4.5	41 / 2.4	13 / 0	38 / 7.8	27 / 7.4	8.2

?\ = % of Non-Standard Occurrences

\? = Number of Possible Times Variables Could Have Been Used Non-Standardly

Table 2: Individual Variation

These scores are index scores for the corpus of grammatical variables used by individual speakers. The scores are given in percentages and were obtained by finding the sum total of all non-standard occurrences for all variables and dividing by the number of environments for the variables. Speaker 1 in the working class boys used the most non-standard forms while speaker 4 in the working class girls used the least number of non-standard forms in the working class group. The group scores indicate that the working class boys are more non-standard than the working class girls but that this sex based distinction is reversed for the middle class children. However, some caution is required in the interpretation of this latter result as it is skewed by the invariable use of whenever by two of the middle class girls.

We can look more closely at the distribution of non-standard forms in the most frequently occurring variables. Table 3 sets out individual scores for vernacular past tenses.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
W/C Boys	69 18	100 1	28 15	63 38	33 38	60 5
W/C Girls	44 18	30 10	50 6	0 10	100 2	20 5
M/C Boys	0 2	0 9	0 7	0 10	0 12	0 8
M/C Girls	6 18	0 3	0 14	0 1	0 10	0 7

Table 3: Past Tense Forms

The most commonly used vernacular forms were done, seen, come and run. As can be seen, there is widespread variation in the use of vernacular past tense forms among the working class children. Among the girls, for example, scores ranged from 0% (in 10 environments) to 100% (in two environments). There was similar widespread variation in the second highly occurring variable, singular concord, as can be seen from Table 4.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
W/C Boys	100\2	100\1	33\3	17\6	0\0	100\1
W/C Girls	44\9	33\12	17\6	29\7	50\2	33\3
M/C Boys	0\11	0\1	0\5	0\15	0\9	17\6
M/C Girls	0\5	0\2	0\21	0\2	0\8	0\3

?\ = % of Non-Standard Occurrences

\? = Number of Possible Times Variables Could Have Been Used Non-Standardly

Table 4: Singular Concord

It is also interesting to note the linguistic constraints on singular concord. According to Policansky (1982), singular concord does not occur with the subject pronouns we and they. As can be seen from Table 5, there were two occurrences of vernacular concord with plural personal pronouns (in both cases with we) in the data.

	Frequency Counts
Plural Personal Pronouns	2
Simple Noun Phrase	8
Conjoined Personal Pronouns	0
Conjoined Personal Pronouns and Noun Phrase	3
Conjoined Noun Phrase	2
Existential There + BE	5

Table 5: Linguistic Environments for Singular Concord

Policansky based her account on adult data. It is, of course, difficult to conclude much from such low scores, but it might be possible that singular concord is spreading across more environments, as evidenced by its usage here by younger children. In many cases singular concord occurred with the verb BE (either as copula or as auxiliary) - for example, I have two sisters - both their birthdays is in February. Simple noun phrases were the most frequent subject type, for example, the soldiers was shooting. This was followed by existential there + uncontracted BE as in there was two ghosts. This was the only environment in which singular concord was recorded for middle class speakers and its usage was restricted to speaker 6.

Some Further Variables

The low occurrences of syntactic variables is only one of the problems arising in sociolinguistic studies of syntax. A more serious issue revolves around the question of whether certain syntactic forms are amenable to quantification in the first place (Lavendera 1978). This point will be illustrated by a second set of syntactic forms as set out in Figure 2.

1. here/there insertion
2. reported speech "here's
3. conversational historical present
4. relative clauses
5. NP - S constructions

Figure 2: Some Further Syntactic Variables

1. Here/there Insertion

The following are examples of this construction:

A: demonstrative as pronoun
1) I think those there are alright ... those ones ...
2) you get on the big slide ... you went like that there
B: demonstrative followed by NP
3) it's about that there size on me
4) he'd need them there big legs

This form was used frequently by the working class children, especially in the environment illustrated in (2), where it co-occurs with an action verb such as goes. The problem is to specify its standard equivalent - is it the emphatic form in which here/there occur in postnominal position as in that one there or this one

here, or is it the unmarked form, as in this one and that one. A further problem is that there is no obligatory environment for the form - rather it is used as a means of indicating emphasis. As such it cannot be considered on a par with other syntactic variables such as seen v saw, them v those, or negative concord. However, as we shall see from the raw scores for this form, its usage is related to the social class origins of the speaker.

2. Reported Speech Here's

This form has been reported widely for Belfast vernacular speech (see, for example, Milroy 1980). Two examples from the data will illustrate:

5) Here's her to her sister "Let me down"
6) Here's me "No, it's not me"

3. Conversational Historic Present

This form occurs in vernacular narratives, ostensibly to heighten the effect of the narration (Wolfson, 1979). Like here/there insertion and reported speech here's its use is very much a matter of speaker choice and so unpredictable. It can often co-occur with past tense forms, as in this example:

7) JR was getting Sue Ellen in the car and he tries to shoot him ... he shoots and JR ducks into the car.

As in the previous cases it is not possible to quantify this form in terms of the ratio of occurrence to possible occurrences as there is no predictable environment for the form. Here again raw scores will be presented.

4. Relative Clauses

The main feature to note here is the use of quasi-relatives (or relative clause avoidance). What is meant here is the use of a co-ordinating construction where a subordinating relative clause could have been used. This occurs typically after existential there but, as the examples show, it can also occur in other environments:

8) there's this woman and she lives next door to me
9) I know a wee girl and she fell in the fire
10) I had a wee sister and she died when she was four.

The main problem is in identifying quasi-relatives as in some cases where a string of co-ordinated clauses

followed the potential environment for a relative clause structure the use of the latter would have appeared stilted and out of place in an informal context. However, scores for the ratio of co-ordinating constructions to subordinating constructions were calculated and, as we shall see, these appear to co-occur with other vernacular forms.

5. NP - S Constructions

This form, which is also known as left-dislocation, involves preposing a noun phrase at the front of an utterance and replacing it in the body of the utterance with a pronoun. It is generally accepted that this construction is a means of highlighting a referent, although other explanations have also been adduced in terms of simplifying processes of speech production and comprehension. The foregrounded NP can occur in isolation in pre-utterance position, but typically in the data it was preceded by see or you know, sometimes in complex combinations. Related constructions were you know the way and see in combination with an expression of time or place. The following examples illustrate these constructions:

11) my uncle he lives over in England
12) see Joanne she's got a big scar here
13) and you know the horse it goes round and round that's the tune it makes
14) see my cousin you know Natalie's mummy she has a big cupboard full of tapes
15) you know the way he lives in the flats well you know all the bannisters he slides down them
16) see when he's reading a book he just goes like that there and flicks through the pages

These constructions are complex and a more detailed analysis will be presented in a later paper. In this paper raw scores are presented for the use of these constructions. These appear in Table 6 along with the scores for the other forms described here.

	WORKING CLASS		MIDDLE CLASS	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
this/here as pronoun	42	4	0	0
plus NP	5	6	0	0
Here's	6	3	0	0
Historic present	10	14	2	0
relatives co-ordinating	14	21	4	7
subordinating	16	3	30	10
ratio (%)	46	87	12	41
NP - S	0	6	0	0
see + NP - S	22	43	0	0
you know + NP - S	21	16	0	0
you know the way	23	14	0	0
see + time/place	40	21	0	0

Table 6: Scores for Further Syntactic Variables

Only the first of these variables, here/there insertion, could be classified as non-standard. The other constructions are typical of the style of conversation. It is striking, however, that in almost all cases these forms are used only by the working class children. In other words, these constructions appear to co-occur for these children with non-standard syntactic forms such as seen or negative concord. Particularly striking are the relative clause and NP-S constructions. Relative clauses were almost never used by the working class girls. The working class boys used slightly more subordinating than co-ordinating constructions, although the most frequent subordinating construction was the zero relative as object, followed closely by who as subject. In contrast, the middle class boys used more than twice as many subordinating constructions, drawing from most of the available structural possibilities. The middle class girls used just slightly more subordinating than co-ordinating constructions, but like the boys used

a wider variety of forms than the working class children.

The results for the NP-S construction are even more striking, as none of the possible structures were used by the middle class children, but all were used widely by their working class counterparts, with the exception of the isolated NP-S construction.

Concluding Remarks

This paper has presented results from one aspect of a research project on syntactic variation in children's language. Broadly speaking, the results support those obtained in other sociolinguistic studies. For every variable, except negative concord, the working class children used more vernacular forms than their middle class counterparts. Indeed, it was noted that the differences between the groups are extremely wide and that, whereas the working class children used a wide variety of vernacular forms, the middle class children used hardly any. The same applied to an even greater degree to the second set of variables which dealt mainly with features of casual conversational style. Similarly, as far as the working class children were concerned, the results supported previous findings that males use more vernacular forms than females. The results for the middle class children are less clear. The girls used more vernacular forms, but the numbers are low and the results are skewed by one of the girls in particular, who used a much higher number of vernacular forms than any of the other middle class children and also than two of the working class girls. These individual differences within the groups were noted and illustrated by examining two of the more frequently occurring variables. This raises the question whether the groups are quite as homogeneous as the original research design assumed. It is, of course, also possible that individual children might be more prepared to style shift than others, by, for example, using more standard forms in the context of this speech situation than their peers. An analysis of the children's performance in the other speech situations will hopefully shed further light on this question.

The paper also pointed to problems arising on the quantitative analysis of syntactic variables. One problem concerned the issue of "sameness of meaning". We assumed that forms such as I seen are functionally and referentially equivalent to I saw and that their usage conveys sociolinguistic information. However, the same analysis cannot be extended to other variables such as here/there insertion. There is also the problem of identifying the linguistic environments of forms such as

relative clauses and the NP-S construction.

Finally there is the question of how to categorise forms such as the NP-S construction, quasi-relatives and the conversational historical present. Are these sociolinguistic variables or are they features of casual conversation? The results suggest that, for this speech situation at least, there is a close correspondence between vernacular usage and the use of these conversational variables. Again an analysis of other speech situations will hopefully shed interesting light on whether the children will style shift - the middle class children towards the more informal forms which they failed to use in the present sample, and the working class children towards more formal forms such as subordinated relative clauses. This latter question raises important educational issues as it will be interesting to find whether the working class children use, in the appropriate contexts, the more formal, syntactically based constructions which are required at school, especially in written work.

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THE LEXICON IN PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION

Abstract. Of the various types of rule that have been devised to characterise dialect variation at the level of pronunciation, two which must have access to lexical information are disussed here:

1) Rules which are phonologically regular but which require access to word-internal morphological structure.
2) Rules whose input and output categories are distinct phonemes and which are irregular to the extent that they exhibit large-scale lexical selectivity.

The special status of these rules vis-a-vis those which are 'blind' to lexical structure can be made formally explicit by assuming that the locus of variability in such cases is not the phonological rule component (the usual analysis) but the lexicon itself.

1 *Rules in models of phonological variation*

For almost a generation now, the most important component in models of socially or regionally differentiated variation at the level of pronunciation has been the phonological rule. This is as true of the categorical accounts of theoretical phonologists as of the variable models of sociolinguists. In generative phonology, it has been customary to describe dialect differences as discrepancies in the organisation of phonological rules (e.g. King 1969, Brown 1972). Derivatives of the generative phonological rule are found in the classical Labovian variable rule framework (e.g. Labov 1972a: ch 3), as well as in the polylectal grammar model (e.g. De Camp 1971, Bailey 1973).

The range of linguistic phenomena which phonologists at various times have felt justified in characterising in terms of phonological rules is quite wide. The same basic rule format has in the past been used to capture such diverse patterns as the following: fully automatic phonotactic constraints, allophonic variation, phonologically conditioned morphophonemic alternations, and morphologically conditioned alternations. There is by no means a general consensus among phonologists that it is appropriate to relate all of these these formally. Various attempts have been made over the years to establish rule typologies which would express the observation that different rules display widely divergent degrees of phoneticity, productivity and sensitivity to morphosyntactic structure. (See, for example,

the distinction between (phonetically conditioned) P-rules and (morphophonemic) MP-rules in Natural Generative Phonology (e.g. Hooper 1976), or between rules and natural processes in Natural Phonology (Donegan & Stampe 1979), or the classifications in Anderson 1974, Linell 1979.)

More recently, the question of rule types in phonology has been posed in terms of the relation of rules to the lexicon. (See, for instance, the expositions of Lexical Phonology in Mohanan & Mohanan 1984 and of morpholexical rules in Lieber 1982.) An important aspect of this work has been an attempt to provide a principled means of distinguishing between rules which need to have access to lexical structure for their correct application and those that don't. My aim here is to explore the implications that these recent developments have for the study of sociolinguistic variation. It is indeed possible to identify patterns of phonological variation which are differentiated by the extent to which they involve lexical structure. Specifically, it makes sense to say that some rules designed to characterise regional or social differences at the level of pronunciation apply in the lexicon while others apply outside it.

In studies of language variation and change, one effect of the interaction between phonology and the lexicon has received a good deal of attention: the phenomenon of *lexical diffusion*, the process by which a sound change may spread gradually through the lexicon, affecting some words before others (see Wang 1969 and the articles in Wang 1977). Other potential interaction effects involving the lexicon and the phonological component, however, tend to be downplayed or even ignored in the variationist literature. With a few notable exceptions (e.g. Labov 1981), it would be fair to say that many sociolinguists have not seen it as part of their brief to spell out how rules designed to capture socially or regionally differentiated phonological variation interact with lexical structure. This is true in spite of the fact that it is frequently acknowledged that such rules often need to have access to the lexicon for their correct application. There are two senses in which the notion *lexical structure* is to be understood in this context. Firstly, we can refer to the sort of information that is represented in the lexical entries of individual words. Sometimes it is necessary to have individual lexical items tagged in some way to indicate that they either fail to undergo an otherwise general rule or are input to a particular rule which applies only to a lexically restricted set of items (i.e. the sort of exceptions which, in traditional generative accounts, would be treated in terms of minus-rule and plus-rule features respectively). Secondly, in speaking of lexical structure, we may refer to the internal morphological composition of words. In particular, it is frequently necessary for phonological

purposes to distinguish between, on the one hand, morphologically simple (or nonderived) words and, on the other, complex words which are the products of word formation processes that operate in the lexicon.

I want to focus here on two types of phonological variability in which it is desirable to assign a more prominent role to the lexicon than has hitherto been usual in the variationist literature. One type takes the form of phonologically irregular (i.e. lexically selective) alternations between phonemically distinct variants. The second type is phonologically regular but involves rules which need to have access to the internal morphological structure of words for their correct application. The most appropriate treatment of these types of pattern, I want to argue, is to pinpoint the locus of variability, not in the rule component (the usual analysis), but in the lexicon. As a point of comparison, let's begin by looking at a case of variability where the lexicon appears to play no role whatsoever.

2 *Lexically blind phonological variation*

A common phenomenon in many types of English, including Hiberno-English, is the realisation of /t, d/ as taps in intervocalic position if the preceding syllable is stressed and the following one unstressed. In some varieties, tapping has no effect on the [±voice] identity of the consonants, i.e. /d/ is realised as a voiced tap, /t/ as a voiceless tap. In others, however, the consonantal contrast is neutralised under a voiced tap, in which case, if no durational differences are present in the preceding vowel, we find find homophones such as *leader* = *liter*. The latter state of affairs can be formalised in terms of the following rule:

(1) *T/D Tapping*

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{sonorant} \\ -\text{continuant} \\ +\text{coronal} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\text{ɾ}] \;/\; \overset{V}{[+\text{stress}]} _ \overset{V}{[-\text{stress}]}$$

In some dialects, the rule applies categorically, in others variably according to particular sociolinguistic and speech-tempo factors. Its effects in Hiberno-English are illustrated by the following examples from Mid Ulster English:

(2)

(a) 'V_V	(b) 'V_#V	(c) 'V_##V
['sɪɾɪ]	['fɪɾə]	['fɪɾɪt]
city	*fitter*	*fit it*

From the viewpoint of the present discussion, the

important point about the tapping rule is that it is what we might describe as *lexically blind*. In other words, it doesn't need to be able to 'look at' lexical structure in order to apply correctly. This is true in terms of both of the senses of *lexical structure* outlined in the last section. First of all, *any* word containing a phonological string which meets the structural description of the rule is potentially input to it. That is, there's no need for any special marking devices to indicate that some words undergo the rule and others don't. Secondly, the rule operates regardless of what the internal morphological composition of a word looks like; it applies to both morphologically simple and complex words, as in (2a) and (2b). Moreover, it applies across word boundaries as well, as in (2c).

3 *Morphologically sensitive phonological variation*

3.1 *Dental Assignment*. Let's look now at another pattern of variation at the level of pronunciation, one which, like our T/D Tapping example, is phonologically regular (in the sense that no individual lexical items are arbitrarily immune to it) but which nevertheless is sensitive to the internal morphological structure of words. As a preliminary example, we may take the realisation of apical noncontinuants as dentals in some types of Hiberno-English. (Quantitative material on the variable nature of this pronunciation in Belfast is presented in Harris 1985: 211ff.) The basic outline of this pattern is that /t, d, n, l/ can be realised as [t̪, d̪, n̪, l̪] before /r/ or /ar/, as in *true, drew, matter, ladder, spanner, pillar*. At first sight, this might seem to be an extension of the general English pattern governing the appearance of dental allophones of these phonemes before dental fricatives. The latter pattern is morphologically insensitive; it applies not only within words (as in *eighth, wealth*) but across word boundaries as well (as in *get them, tell them*). The Hiberno-English pattern is, however, quite different in this respect: dentals in /r/ contexts don't occur if a morpheme boundary intervenes, either word-internally or between words:

(3)

Dentals		Alveolars	
_r	_ar	_##r	_#ar
true	*matter*	*bedroom*	*later*
drew	*ladder*	*footrest*	*louder*
	spanner	*sunroof*	*finer*
	pillar	*bullring*	*killer*

(For further examples and discussion, see Gregg 1964: 184-5.) So the Hiberno-English dentality rule must be made subject to a condition blocking it from applying across morpheme boundaries. A categorical formulation of the rule might look something like this (assuming dentals to be

[+distributed]):

(4) *Dental Assignment*
[-continuant] --> [+distributed] / _ X (σ)r
[+coronal]
Condition: X ≠ #

An alternative to supplying the rule with a condition barring it from applying across morpheme boundaries would be to say that dentality is assigned before word formation processes take place. In other words, dental realisations are determined in the lexicon before nonderived forms have derivational and inflectional affixes attached to them and before compounds are built. This is quite different from the general English allophonic rule which produces dental noncontinuants before dental fricatives. Since the latter is blind to morphological structure, it can be said to apply *after* word formation has taken place and after words have been concatenated in syntactic structure.

3.2 *Lexical Phonology.* The notion of allowing some phonological rules to apply before or during the course of word formation was originally formalised in terms of the phonological cycle in the classical *Sound Pattern of English* framework (Chomsky & Halle 1968: ch 3). Some rules (such as stress assignment in English) were assumed to operate cyclically, i.e. to apply repeatedly as mophologically complex words were built up. Others were said to apply postcyclically, i.e. once processes of word formation were completed. The most recent thinking on cyclic rule application is embodied in Lexical Phonology (see especially Kiparsky 1982, Rubach 1984, Mohanan & Mohanan 1984, Halle & Mohanan 1985). What I want to do in the remainder of this section is examine briefly the suitability of this model for handling variable patterns such as those expressed in the Hiberno-English dentality rule (4).

According to the model of Lexical Phonology outlined in Halle & Mohanan (1985), phonological rule application involves three separate modules in the grammar: the lexicon, a post-lexical module and the phonological rule component itself. The domain of application of each rule is specified in relation to the lexical and postlexical modules. Some rules operate lexically, others postlexically. (Still others may operate both lexically and postlexically, but this issue is not relevant to the present discussion.) The basic idea behind lexical rule application stems from the observation that forms may have to be processed phonologically during the course of word formation. In other words, phonological processes which are interspersed with morphological processes are formulated in terms of rules specified as applying in the lexicon. Of the rules that don't make reference to morphological information, those that aren't

crucially ordered before rules already identified as lexical may be assumed to apply postlexically. Within this framework, it is evident that, of the rules we have examined up to now, Dental Assignment (4) is lexical, whereas T/D Tapping (1) and the general English allophonic rule governing the appearance of dental noncontinuants before dental fricatives are postlexical.

Other examples of phonological variation which, in terms of Lexical Phonology, would be analysed as involving lexical rule application are not difficult to find. The widely discussed variable rule of Final Stop Deletion in different dialects of English (e.g. Neu 1980) is sensitive to word-internal morphological structure insofar as it applies preferentially to uninflected as against inflected forms. So, for instance, in most dialects final /t/ is more likely to be deleted in *test* than in *guessed*. Another example provided by Hiberno-English is the Mid Ulster variation between [ɪə] and [ɛ:] in the lexical set which includes *save, day, raid, late*, etc. The general pattern here is that, under stress, the monophthongal variant appears word-finally (as in *day*), while the diphthongal variant appears before consonants (as in *save*). However, the monophthong also occurs before a final consonant if this represents an inflectional morpheme. Thus we get minimal pairs such as [dɪəz] *daze* versus [dɛ:z] *days* and [stɪəd] *staid* versus [stɛ:d] *stayed*. Within the framework of Lexical Phonology, we might say that the monophthongal pronunciation is determined before inflection takes place. (Quantitative material on the variable pronunciation of this nucleus in Belfast is provided in Milroy et al 1983.)

3.3 */ɛ, ɔ/ Tensing.* We now turn to a rule which, like Dental Assignment, is lexical but which differs from the latter in being sensitive to some types of morpheme boundary but not others. As we will see, Lexical Phonology provides us with a principled means of identifying rules of this sort. The rule in question governs length and quality variations in /ɛ/ (as in *bet, bed,...*) and /ɔ/ (as in *pot, pod,...*) in Mid Ulster dialects of Hiberno-English. The pattern of variation is subject to sociolinguistic differentiation as well as a number of phonological and morphological constraints. (For detailed discussions of the variable nature of these constraints as they operate in the Mid Ulster vernacular of Belfast, see Milroy & Milroy 1978 and Harris 1985: 169ff.) In categorical terms (i.e. ignoring details of sociolinguistic variability), we may sketch the outlines of the pattern as follows. The nuclei are short monophthongal and typically low when they occur before voiceless noncontinuants, or clusters consisting of a sonorant followed by a voiceless consonant (henceforth the 'short' contexts). In this environment, /ɔ/ is generally unround. Some examples:

(5) /ɛ/ = [æ] *bet, slept, sketch, went,...*
/ɔ/ = [ɑ] *pot, lock, top, Scotch, font,...*

The nuclei are long mid diphthongal and, in the case of /ɔ/, round, when they occur in monosyllabic words closed by voiced consonants, or clusters containing only voiced consonants, or fricatives (henceforth the 'long' contexts). For example:

(6) /ɛ/ = [ɛə] *bed, ten, bell, bend, held,...*
less, best, left, Beth, Des,...

/ɔ/ = [ɔə] *pod, rob, dog, Tom, doll, pond,...*
loss, soft, moth, Ros,...

In polysyllabic words, the ability of the 'long' contexts to condition long realisations of stressed /ɛ, ɔ/ is dependent on the internal morphological composition of the word. If a following unstressed syllable in the same word is preceded by an inflectional or compound boundary, the long contexts induce lengthening, just as in monosyllables, e.g:

(7) /ɛ/ = [ɛə]
Inflection: *felling, stemming,...*
Compound: *bedroom, sten gun,...*

/ɔ/ = [ɔə]
Inflection: *robbing, bombing,...*
Compound: *dog licence, song writer,...*

In monomorphemic polysyllables, however, short realisations of stressed /ɛ, ɔ/ occur, irrespective of the consonantal context. Thus, in such forms we find short variants before consonants which elsewhere induce lengthening, as in

(8) /ɛ/ = [e] *lemon, Denning, meddle, tenor, felon,...*
/ɔ/ = [ɑ] *robin, common, honest,...*

In the case of derivationally complex polysyllables, the length pattern shows signs of being sensitive to the morphological distinction between Class I ('root') and Class II ('word') affixes. (This is the the two-way classification that is motivated by differences in the way derivational affixes may be concatenated in morphologically complex words (see Hockett 1958: 241-3). Typically, Class I affixes (e.g. *-ation, -ify, -atory*) are Romance or Greek in origin, while Class II affixes (e.g. *-hood, -like, -ness*) tend to be part of the Germanic lexical stock.) Generally speaking, long realisations of Mid Ulster /ɛ, ɔ/ occur in 'long' consonantal contexts when a Class II suffix follows.-Compare the following forms with those in (8):

(9) Class II derivation

/ɛ/ = [ɛə] *tenner, deadly,...*

/ɔ/ = [ɔə] *fondness, bomber,...*

Class I derived forms, however, behave like morphologically simple forms; that is, in such contexts short variants of /ɛ, ɔ/ appear, regardless of the identity of a following consonant, as in

(10) Class I derivation

/ɛ/ = [e] *serenity, tenant,...*

/ɔ/ = [o] *modify, chronic,...*

In traditional rule format, the pattern of variation just outlined might be formalised in the following way. For expository convenience, we may characterise the length and quality differences in terms of the abstract cover-feature [±tense]; [+tense] covering long mid diphthongal realisations of /ɛ, ɔ/, [-tense] covering short low monophthongal variants. Assuming that the nuclei are underlyingly unspecified for [±tense], we can envisage a rule like the following which 'tenses' them in 'long' consonantal contexts:

(11) /ɛ, ɔ/ *Tensing*

$$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ -\text{high} \\ +\text{stress} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{tense}] \; / \; _ \begin{Bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} [+\text{voice}] \end{bmatrix} \; [+\text{voice}] \\ [+\text{continuant}] \end{Bmatrix} \#$$

Condition: # ≠ Class I derivational boundary

(A default condition can be assumed to fill in the [-tense] value for those nuclei not specified as [+tense] by Rule (11).) Informally, the rule states that stressed /ɛ, ɔ/ get 'tensed' before 'long' consonants as long as these are followed by a morpheme boundary other than one which (as indicated by the condition) introduces a Class I affix. Tensing thus affects nuclei in the relevant consonantal context in monosyllabic words (as in (6)), as well as in morphologically complex forms which are the product of inflection, or compounding (as in (7)), or Class II derivation (as in (9)). Elsewhere, the nuclei are [-tense], i.e. before 'short' consonants (as in (5)), or before any consonant in polysyllabic words which are either morphologically simple (as in (8)) or the product of Class I derivation (as in (10)).

3.4 *Lexical strata.* The tensing rule (11) is similar to Dental Assignment (4) in that it must have access to the internal morphological composition of words for it to apply correctly. In terms of Lexical Phonology, it is thus a lexical rule. What is striking about this case, however, is the way in which the rule interacts with word formation

processes. One way of looking at it is to say that the rule appears to operate *before* inflection, compounding and Class II derivation take place but *after* Class I derivation. In the traditional framework within which we formulated Rule (11), this sort of morphological sensitivity can only be expressed by means of an ad hoc condition on rule application. In Lexical Phonology, however, the phenomenon can be shown to fall out automatically from general theoretical principles, in particular from the conception of the lexicon as consisting of ordered morphological levels.

Figure 1. Lexical Phonology of English (Halle & Mohanan 1985).

Within Lexical Phonology, it is proposed that the lexicon comprises ordered layers or strata at which different sorts of morphological operations take place. Halle & Mohanan (1985) suggest that the English lexicon contains four such strata. This arrangement is illustrated in Figure 1 (omitting certain details of cyclic versus noncyclic rule application which are not relevant here). Class I derivation takes place at Stratum 1, Class II derivation at Stratum 2, compounding at Stratum 3, and inflection at Stratum 4. This means that we have five sequentially ordered levels at which phonological processing may occur: four strata located in the lexical module, the other constituting the postlexical module. As outlined earlier, the phonological rule system coexists simultaneously with these two modules. The domain within which each rule operates is specified in terms of the five levels. For example, in Halle & Mohanan's account stress assignment applies at Stratum 1, while their rule of Vowel Shift applies at Stratum 2. Within this arrangement, it's not necessary to supply rules with conditions pertaining to the type of morpheme boundary that may be involved (whether derivational, inflectional, etc.). Specification of the lexical or postlexical level(s) which constitute a rule's domain of application furnishes all the information necessary for its correct operation. A stratum can thus be regarded as a sort of work space (Mohanan & Mohanan 1984) for rule application.

Halle & Mohanan (1985) base their ordering of lexical strata in English on a wide range of morphological and phonological facts. Although they do not discuss anything directly equivalent to it, it is evident that our rule of /ɛ, ɔ/ Tensing (11) can be readily accommodated within their framework by stripping it of its condition and specifying that it applies in the lexicon, specifically at Stratum 2 before Class I affixaton takes place. We may reformulate the rule as follows:

(11')/ɛ, ɔ/ *Tensing (Stratum 2)*

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{high} \\ +\text{stress} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{tense}] \; / \; _ \; \left\{ \begin{matrix} ([+\text{voice}])\ [+\text{voice}] \\ [+\text{continuant}] \end{matrix} \right\}]$$

where the right-most bracket indicates the right-hand boundary of a lexical domain. Halle & Mohanan (1985) assume that word-internal brackets are erased at the end of each stratum after the relevant morphological processes have taken place. Thus, once brackets are erased at the end of a given stratum, rules operating in later strata obviously no longer have access to them. Within this framework, we can illustrate the selective effects of /ɛ, ɔ/ Tensing in Mid Ulster English as in Table 1 (commas between morphemes at the underlying level indicate that affixation has not yet taken place).

Table 1. Sample derivations involving the lexical rule of /ɛ, ɔ/ Tensing in Mid Ulster English.

	rob	*conical*	*robin*	*robber*	*robbing*
Underlying	rɔb]	kɔn],ɪkal]	rɔban]	rɔb],ar]	rɔb],an]
Stratum 1 Class I affixation		kɔn]ɪkal]			
Bracket Erasure		kɔnɪkal]			
Stratum 2 /ɛ,ɔ/ Tensing	rɔab]	-	-	rɔab]	rɔab]
Class II affixation				rɔablar]	
Bracket Erasure				rɔabar]	
Stratum 4 Inflection					rɔablan]
Bracket Erasure					rɔaban]
Postlexical stratum [-tense] Default		kanɪkal	raban		
Output	rɔab	kanɪkal	raban	rɔabar	rɔaban

The arrangement exemplified in Table 1 highlights the fact that 'latinate' morphological structure in Mid Ulster English is impervious to /ɛ, ɔ/ Tensing. In traditional terms, we might say that the rule applies at the word-stem level (i.e. to free morphemes irrespective of whether they undergo Class II affixation, inflection or compounding) but not at the root level (i.e. to latinate morphemes which are potentially input to Class I affixation). We may wish to speculate as to how and why this situation should have come about. One, historical reason might be to do with constraints on the way tensing has spread through morphological paradigms. A common mechanism of historical change is for an incoming pronunciation to be extended by analogy from underived to derived forms (see, for instance, Anttila 1972: ch 5). If such an analogical process has been involved in this case, then the selective impact of /ɛ, ɔ/

Tensing on the morphological structure of Mid Ulster English may be due to differences in the facility with which speakers are able to establish morpheme identity between underived and derived forms of the same lexical item. It is characteristic of Class-I affixation that roots tend to be affected by phonological changes which, to varying degrees, obscure the phonological identity between derived and underived roots. Two such changes, which are sometimes formulated as the English rules of Vowel Shift and Trisyllabic Shortening (e.g. Chomsky & Halle 1968: 178ff, Halle & Mohanan 1985), are relevant to our present discussion, since they produce surface alternations between /ɛ, ɔ/ in derived forms and distinct nuclei in underived roots. For example, the failure of /ɛ, ɔ/ Tensing to apply to *serenity* or *conical*, it might be suggested, is due to the fact that the rule cannot apply to their underived roots *serene, cone* since, as a result of Vowel Shift, these contain nuclei which are distinct from /ɛ, ɔ/. By contrast, the phonological relationship between the nuclei of a Class-II affixed form and its underived stem is always transparent. For example, the phonological identity between the nuclei of [rɔəb] *rob* and [rɔəbər] *robber* is immediately clear.

Whatever the motivation behind the facts of variation in this case, it is worth exploring the possibility that they can be made to fall out from general theoretical principles which have been worked out to handle quite independent sets of data. Lexical Phonology provides just such a framework. It should be evident that an account of this sort is to be preferred over one, such as that embodied in the initial formulation of our tensing rule (11), which treats the matter of morphological sensitivity in terms of an idiosyncratic condition on the application of a particular rule.

4 *Sociophonemic alternations*

4.1 *Belfast Vernacular (ʌ)*. In this section, we review some of the issues surrounding the representation of what can be termed *sociophonemic alternations*. These are similar to morphophonemic alternations in that they involve variation between phonologically distinct segments but differ in that they are sociolinguistically rather than morphologically constrained. Sociophonemic alternations typically show up in conditions of interface between a nonstandard dialect and a standard variety to which the former is both structurally and functionally related. For any given alternation of this type, it's usually possible to identify one variant as characteristic of conservative vernacular speech and the other as an overt prestige pronunciation associated with more 'standard' usage. To the extent that the alternation is indicative of change in progress, it's typically a question

of the latter pronunciation gradually edging out the former. As an example, let's consider the sociolinguistic variable (ʌ) in Belfast. (For detailed discussions, see Maclaran 1976 and Milroy & Milroy 1978).

The (ʌ) variable involves two variants: /ʉ/ and /ɔ/. In Belfast Vernacular, these nuclei are distributed over three lexical sets. One set of words categorically appears with /ʉ/, one categorically with /ɔ/, and the third, constituting the lexical domain of (ʌ), alternates between the two:

(12)

(a) /ʉ/		(b) /ɔ/		(c) /ʉ/ ~ /ɔ/	
good	*food*	*bud*	*luck*	*foot*	*would*
loose	*book*	*blood*	*cut*	*pull*	*bush*
boot	*moon*	*sun*	*fuss*	*took*	*took*
etc.		etc.		etc.	

(Note that the systemic organisation and lexical incidence of the Belfast Vernacular /ʉ/ ~ /ɔ/ contrast is not isomorphic with that of corresponding contrasts in standard varieties, e.g. RP /u:/ ~ /ɒ/ ~ /ʌ/.) The /ʉ/ ~ /ɔ/ alternation is governed by social and stylistic factors, the former being the overt prestige variant, the latter being typical of vernacular usage in informal settings.

The main characteristics of this pattern of variation to be noted here are as follows. Firstly, it involves phonologically distinct (and therefore phonetically discrete) variants. Secondly, it is phonologically irregular; that is, there is no sign of systematic phonological conditioning (apart from a few fossilised distributional tendencies bequeathed by now-defunct developments in Early Modern English). In other words, the (ʌ) variable is lexically selective. There is nothing in the phonological shape of a word containing say /ʉ/ which automatically guarantees that it might also be pronounced with /ɔ/.

Other examples of sociophonemic alternation discussed in the sociolinguistic literature include /ø:/ ~ /e:/, /ɔe/ ~ /æ:/, /a/ ~ /ɔ/ in Viennese German (Dressler & Wodak 1982) and /ɑu/ ~ /ʌu/ in East Anglia (Trudgill & Foxcroft 1978: 72-3).

4.2 *Derivational treatments.* One of the ways this sort of variability has been handled in the literature is to have one variant derived from the other by means of a feature-changing rule. (See, for instance, Andersen's (1973) treatment of the alternation between /p/ and /t/ in nineteenth-century Czech dialects. Kallen's treatment of the Hiberno-English alternation between high and mid front nuclei in *meat, leave, beat,* etc. is along similar lines

(1985: 72).) This amounts to extending the item-and-process model from morphophonemic to sociophonemic alternations. Among the questions that have to be answered in analyses of this sort are the following. Which alternant do we take as 'basic', i.e. as the underlying representation from which the other is to be derived? How do we represent the fact that the alternation is lexically selective?

In answer to the first question, Andersen (1973) invokes the role of frequency of use in determining the choice of underlying form. As a given alternant becomes recessive, its increasing infrequency is allegedly reflected in its analysis as a derived form, i.e. one that is derived from the incoming prestige variant. The problem with this particular treatment is that it provides no principled means of identifying the point at which an outgoing and incoming variant switch input and output status. (The switch entails rule inversion in the sense of Vennemann (1972). In our Belfast example, 'original' /ð/ -> /ʊ/ inverts to /ʊ/ -> /ð/.) This problem is linked to the second question posed by such analyses; namely, how do we represent the lexical selectivity of sociophonemic alternations?

Andersen (1973), without further comment, remarks that the rule governing the alternation between /p/ and /t/ in Czech is provided with the necessary lexical marking. There are various ways in which this notion can be interpreted within Andersen's (generative) framework. One approach is to have the relevant segment in each alternating word supplied in its lexical entry with a special diacritic. The diacritic is then included in the structural description of the rule which expresses the alternation, so that the rule applies only to those forms marked appropriately. The content of the diacritic is entirely arbitrary, even though it is being used as though it were a phonological feature (a practice which, since Kiparsky (1973), has been dubbed the 'phonological use of diacritic features'). A second approach is to handle nonautomatic alternations of this type in terms of minor rules, i.e. rules which apply only to a subset of the lexical items which otherwise satisfy their structural descriptions. The words which undergo the minor rule are supplied in their lexical entries with the relevant plus-rule feature.

The derivational treatment of sociophonemic alternations is quite elaborate. It implies that they are matters of synchronic change; distinct underlying and surface forms are mediated by a feature-changing rule. At this stage, we might raise again a question that has frequently been asked about parallel treatments of nonautomatic morphophonemic alternations in the literature. Is there any motivation for treating nonautomatic alternations on a par with automatically conditioned phonological patterns, i.e. in terms of the same rule

format? To take two specific examples which we have been looking at, is it justifiable to use the same derivational rule format to represent the phonologically regular pattern of variation displayed by T/D Tapping and the lexically selective pattern displayed by the (ʌ) variable in Belfast Vernacular?

One type of evidence which has a bearing on this issue and which we consider briefly here concerns the learnability of phonologically regular patterns on the one hand and nonautomatic alternations on the other. The learning task in the former case, we may assume, involves extrapolating exceptionless generalisations from phonetic data. The lexical selectivity of the second pattern implies that the learner must acquire the alternation on a lexeme-by-lexeme basis; the task here is thus one of rote learning. The relative difficulty of the second task is demonstrated by observed cases of hypercorrection and hyperdialectalism. A couple of examples involving the Belfast (ʌ) variable will illustrate the point. Hypercorrection in this case takes the form of an overgeneralisation of the prestige high variant /ʊ/ to words which categorically contain a mid nucleus not only in Belfast Vernacular (i.e. /ɔ/) and but in standard varieties as well (e.g. /ʌ/ in RP). An example recorded from a Belfast speaker is [ɪmˈpʊlsəv] *impulsive*. As an illustration of hyperdialectalism, we can cite the case of a non-native resident of Belfast who frequently pronounced *book* as [bɔk], a word which categorically has /ʊ/ in Belfast Vernacular. Examples such as these indicate that speakers acquire the /ʊ/ ~ /ɔ/ alternation on an item-by-item basis. (For further discussion of the incomplete acquisition of local vernacular phonological patterns by in-migrating speakers, see Payne 1980.)

It seems reasonable to expect that we should have some formal means of representing the differences between automatic and lexically selective patterns of phonological variation. Supposing we wish to restrict the notion of phonological rule to the characterisation of phonologically regular patterns (as has frequently been proposed in the literature - see the references in Section 1), how are we to represent lexically selective sociophonemic alternations? One obvious approach is to shift the locus of variability out of the rule component and into the lexicon. This in fact leads to a much more parsimonious analysis which, it can be argued, provides a more realistic reflection of the sort of learning task that is involved in the acquisition of sociophonemic alternations.

4.3 *Sociolexical schemas.* The essential point about sociophonemic alternations is that they have to do with the incidence of phonemes in the lexicon. A historical change which manifests itself synchronically as an alternation between two phonemes in a set of lexical items amounts to a diachronic redistribution of phonemes across the lexicon. While such a change is in progress, speakers have available to them two pronunciations of words in the relevant lexical set, a conservative pronunciation with one phoneme, and a progressive one with another phoneme. Suppose we say simply that such words have two lexical representations, one containing the phoneme associated with the conservative pronunciation, the other containing the phoneme associated with the progressive one. This solution is similar to one that has been proposed in the literature for dealing with nonproductive morphophonemic alternations (e.g. Hudson 1974, Lieber 1982). The arrangement I'm advocating here implies that sociophonemic alternations involve matters of lexical *choice*, rather than synchronic *change*, as implied by the derivational rule analysis. It is consistent with the claim that speakers have to learn such alternations word by word.

One objection to this approach is that it fails to give expression to the observation that speakers apparently use and evaluate sociophonemic alternations in terms of unified classes in some sense. This is reflected in the status of these alernations as *sociolinguistic markers* or *stereotypes* in the Labovian sense (Labov 1972b: 314ff). That is, items in a given alternating set behave in a unified manner under given social conditions. So there is at least some sort of generalisation to be captured here. Does abandoning the derivational analysis imply that sociophonemic alternations are nothing more than extended versions of the sort of item-specific alternation we encounter in /i:/ ~ /aɪ/ *either*? In a strictly phonological sense, this is true - given what we have just said about the impossibility of establishing regular phonological conditioning in such cases. But, of course, words in an alternating set do have shared phonological characteristics to the extent that the same two phonemes alternate in each item. The point is that words in an alternating set constitute a *sociolinguistic* rather than a *strictly phonological* class.

Assuming that we're restricting the notion of phonological rule to the expression of phonological regularities, by what formal means do we express a sociolinguistic regularity of the sort we have in sociophonemic alternations? One solution is to have what Dressler & Wodak (1982) refer to as *input switch rules*. These are rules which apply in the lexicon and which, rather than generating one segment from another, simply express a bidirectional correspondence between two phonemes which alternate in a lexically restricted set of words under certain sociolinguistic conditions. They are thus similar to

the so-called *via rules* of Natural Generative Phonology (used to link morphophonemic alternations which are morphologically rather than phonologically conditioned - see, for instance Vennemann 1972). In order to clarify the status of such rules within the lexicon, it's worthwhile briefly examining a couple of related proposals that have been made in the recent literature on morphological theory.

On the basis of evidence from errors by children and adults in the production of English irregular past-tense forms, Bybee & Slobin (1982) propose that generalisations about otherwise irregular forms should be expressed in terms of *schemas* rather than derivational rules. Their contention is that irregular past-tense forms are rote-learned and stored in the lexicon (rather than generated by rule from unitary base forms), but that this doesn't prevent speakers from formulating generalisations about them. These generalisations are expressed in the shape of nondirectional schemas, statements which describe the phonological properties of morphological classes. A schema is not a constraint which rigidly specifies what can and what cannot occur but is rather a looser type of correlation used in organising and accessing the lexicon. A similar proposal has been made by Lieber (1982) whereby the various allomorphs of a nonproductive alternation are all listed in the lexicon. Members of an allomorphy class are related to one another by means of *morpholexical rules*, redundancy-like non-generative rules which express partial subregularities in otherwise arbitrary relations. (For example, they would be used to express the relation between the nonproductive stem alternants in *wife* ~ *wives*, *sheaf* ~ *sheaves*, etc.)

Although schemas and morpholexical rules were originally designed to handle morphological facts, it seems possible to extend the notions to the nonderivational analysis of sociophonemic alternations without doing violence to the original spirit of the proposals. In particular, we can say that a *sociolexical schema* describes the phonological properties of an alternating lexical class that is characterised by unified social and/or stylistic distribution. For example, we might represent the Belfast (ʌ) variable in terms of the following sociolexical shema:

(13) ...ɔ...] ~ ...ʊ...]

Some means of indicating the fact that the selection of a particular alternant is governed by social/stylistic factors is of course necessary. (Whether these social variables should be incorporated directly in the grammar (as proposed in some earlier versions of the variable rule model) or should be interpreted as being supplied independently by the speaker's encyclopedic knowledge is a controversial issue which it is beyond the scope of this paper to address.) The function of the notation can be characterised informally as

follows: 'in words which have two lexical representations, one containing /ɔ/ and the other /ɒ/, select the former in such and such a set of social conditions, and the latter in a complementary set'.

A corollary of the claim that irregular alternants are listed directly in the lexicon is the prediction that all such forms should be free to undergo regular processes which are expressed in the shape of rules in the phonological rule component. And this is in fact exactly what we find. For example, the /ɔ/ variant of the Belfast Vernacular (ʌ) variable is subject to a quite independent pattern of variation which affects the rounding value of the nucleus (quantified in Milroy 1980: 120ff). The rounded [ɔ] realisation is the conservative pronunciation; unrounded [ʌ] represents the more prestigious variant. The roundness variable is lexically blind; any lexical item containing /ɔ/ is potentially input to the associated rule, irrespective of whether it appears in nonalternating words (*bud, luck*, etc., i.e. set (12b)) or as the /ɔ/ variant in the alternating /ɔ/ ~ /ʊ/ class (*foot, pull*, etc., i.e. set (12c)).

What does this analysis give us? First, the dual lexical representation of alternating words makes it explicit that the locus of variation in sociophonemic alternations is the lexicon, not the phonological rule component. This is consistent with the observation that we are dealing in such cases with lexically selective patterns which must be rote-learned on a word-by-word basis. Second, the device of the sociolexical schema expresses the fact that, while no regular phonological conditioning is involved, words in which the same two phonemes alternate form a unified class from a sociolinguistic perspective.

5 *Conclusion*

Table 2 summarises the main characteristics which distinguish the three types of phonological variation we've been discussing. In order to characterise these distinctions adequately, I've argued, it's necessary to make formally explicit the different ways in which the patterns interact with the lexicon. As we've seen, it's possible to do this by taking advantage of recent advances in phonological and morphological theory. Specifically, I've proposed that the three types of variation be handled in the following ways: phonologically regular, morphologically blind patterns in terms of postlexical rules; phonologically regular, morphologically sensitive patterns in terms of lexical rules; and sociophonemic alternations in terms of dual lexical representations whose selection is governed by sociolexical schemas.

The motivation behind suggesting these different modes of representation is not the pursuit of formalism for its own sake. Rather, the exercise should be seen as part of a wider endeavour to interpret the facts of language variation and change within frameworks developed by theoretical linguists. This kind of enterprise has a long pedigree. Over the years, historical linguists, dialectologists and, more recently, sociolinguists have from time to time reappraised their findings in the light of contemporary advances in linguistic theory. The notions of historical merger and split (e.g. Hoenigswald 1960: ch 9), for example, depended on a fully eloborated theory of the phoneme. Labov's variable rule model drew heavily on principles and formalisms already made available by transformational generative grammar. Recently, theoretical linguists have been assigning an increasingly important role to the lexicon in grammars, not only in syntax (e.g. Bresnan 1982) but, as we have seen, in phonology as well. It seems natural that sociolinguists should be interested in exploring the applicability of these lexically-based models to the study of language variation and change.

Table 2. Three types of phonological variation.

Example:	T/D Tapping	/ɛ, ɔ/ Tensing	/ʃ/ ~ /ʍ/ Alternation
Phonemically distinct variants?	no	no	yes
Phonologically regular?	yes	yes	no
Morphologically sensitive?	no	yes	no
Representation:	Postlexical rule	Lexical rule	Sociolexical schema

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Giving increased prominence to the lexical dimension in sociolinguistic accounts may shed new light on the issue of whether speakers' perceptions of phonological variables differ in any consistent way according to the level at which variability is embedded in linguistic structure. It would be interesting to see, for instance, whether the evaluation of sociolexical schemas differs consistently from that of regular phonological rules. A recurrent theme of sociophonemic alternations is that they reflect the operation of exonormative sociolinguistic pressures. That is, they are symtomatic of an attempt on the part of

speakers to adapt their pronunciation in the direction of prestige norms associated with groups outside their immediate community. Patterns modelled in terms of regular phonological rules, on the other hand, tend to reflect 'internal' sound change. So perhaps our formal distinction between schemas and rules mirrors a distinction in the way different sorts of change at the level of pronunciation are implemented. In terms of a distinction originally due to Labov (1972b: 178ff), we might say that variation which can be represented in the form of sociolexical schemas is likely to reflect *change from above*, while *change from below* manifests itself in the shape of regular phonological rules.

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DIFFERING PRESTIGE VALUES FOR THE (KY) VARIABLE IN LURGAN

P. L. Henry (1958: 114) discusses several ways in which 'Irish consonant quality' has been retained in the consonants of Hiberno-English. Of these effects, only palatalization has survived in Ulster English dialects. Even this palatalization is confined to certain consonants in certain environments, namely to /k/ and /g/ before front vowels, this being perhaps a remnant of what was once a systematic distinction of palatalized and velarized consonants as in Irish. The palatalization of velar stops is considered now to be a distinguishing feature of the Mid-Ulster variety of English; Henry reports that 'it is strongly represented at all our Ulster Pts. save the Antrim ones,' and his examples confirm that it is only sporadic in Ulster Scots.

The palatalization appears almost to be a simple allophonic variation of the /k/ and /g/ phonemes, since they are never palatalized before back vowels. The nature of the palatalization varies according to the height of the vowel: typically, /k/ and /g/ are realized before /i/, /ɪ/, and /e/ as simple palatal stops. Before the low front vowels /ɛ/ and /a/, and the rhotacized /ɝ/ and /ar/, a [j]-glide is created between the stop and the vowel due to the tongue movement necessary. In the /ar/ class (<u>car</u> and <u>garden</u>), the following /ɹ/ causes the /a/ to be retracted and thus no longer strictly front, although the system still treats it as a front vowel by allowing the palatalized consonant to occur there. We know from Patterson (1860: 18) that the vowel in <u>car</u> and <u>scar</u> once was a true front vowel, for he refers to 'some [people who] give to these words the pronunciation usually given to the words <u>care</u> and <u>scare</u>.'

Although velar stops are palatalized systematically before front vowels, Mid-Ulster speakers themselves notice and comment only on the occurrence of the palatalization before low vowels, where the resulting glide is more conspicuous. The pronunciation of <u>car</u> as 'kyar' has itself achieved the status of a shibboleth for Mid-Ulster speakers; my Lurgan informants often cited it as being typical of 'broad' speech in their area. Such realizations are associated with rural Mid-Ulster speech, and have virtually disappeared in Belfast except among older men in Catholic West Belfast. James Milroy (1981: 94) writes of the glided variant:

> . . . This seems to be virtually confined to West Belfast and then only to the older male group. . . Palatalization of [k,g] is well known in Ulster and is widely considered to be a rural feature: younger speakers did not use it themselves and denied that it was found in the city at all. It is rapidly dying out, and there seems to be a generational difference in the speech with which it is dying out. A Ballymacarrett man of sixty-six did have some palatalization, but speakers of forty or so had lost it: however, it remains amongst this age group in West Belfast, more so in Clonard than in the Hammer.

Milroy's figures for males aged 40 to 55 (counting only glided velar stops before low front vowels) are, by area, 62% palatalization for the Clonard, 14% for the Hammer, and 0% for Ballymacarrett. No palatalization at all was found in the outer-city areas of Braniel and Andersonstown.

The (ky) variable was one of five variables analysed in a study of Belfast influence on Lurgan (Pitts 1982). The Lurgan data used in this paper is drawn from twenty-seven Lurgan informants in two age groups, 18-25 years old, and over 25. There are nine men, five women, six boys, and seven girls in the sample. Excepting three informants from the Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English, who were interviewed one-on-one in a highly formal setting, informants were taped in their homes, usually in groups of two or more, between January and June of 1981. Free conversation was taped with and without a fieldworker present, the two styles being designated 'formal' and 'casual' respectively. The ideal would have been to obtain both formal and casual speech samples from each speaker, but to get both was not always possible. Throughout this paper, the term 'formal style' indicates self-conscious speech elicited in the presence of a fieldworker, typically in response to promptings by the fieldworker. Lesley Milroy has labelled such data Interview Style. My 'casual style', corresponding to Milroy's Spontaneous Style, describes speech not elicited by a fieldworker, but instead exchanged by speakers in response to each other under natural social circumstances. A fieldworker was often not even present for these sessions, in which cases a contact person was left in charge of taping. These are typically not the first tapings done in these houses, with the result that the speakers are indifferent to the presence of the recorder.

Because Lurgan retains more ties to rural Mid-Ulster than does Belfast, I expected the incidence of palatalized realizations to be greater there than in

Belfast. This proved to be the case: whereas in Belfast only older West Belfast males use the glided variants ('kyar,' 'gyarden'), in Lurgan such variants are used by all groups of speakers.

The figures from the Lurgan data confirm that the type and incidence of the glided variants change according to the height of the vowel. Stop-plus-glide sequences, as opposed to merely palatalized stops, occur in progressively greater numbers, the lower the following vowel gets.

There is very little fluctuation in percentages of palatalized realizations before /i/, /ɪ/ and /e/. These are almost always the glideless palatal variants [c] and [ɟ] for all groups of speakers, what would traditionally be called allophonic variants. Before / ɛ /, while glideless palatal variants are still preferred, the realizations of (k) as a glided variant are more frequent than before the high front vowels (see Table 1). Here, too, emerges a slight tendency for speakers to vary by age: older speakers show about 30% glided variants as against about 20% for younger speakers.

In words with low /a/, normally realized as [ɛ] or [æ] after velar stops, use of the glided variants leaps dramatically for all speakers. Age seems to be the strongest constraint in this environment as well: in this category, which includes items such as cap and gas, men show 86% glided realizations; women, 78%; girls, 53%; and boys, 50%.

In the pre-/ar/ environment, the groups' percentages change again:

	Velar	Palatalized	Glided
Men	17% (6)	14% (5)	69% (24)
Boys	25% (7)	39% (11)	36% (10)
Women	8% (3)	5% (4)	87% (33)
Girls	17% (3)	17% (4)	66% (16)

Recall that before /a/, the glided realizations describe a neat pattern of variation in apparent time, with older speakers realizing many more glides than younger speakers, and older men still more likely than older women to maintain what ought to be a conservative rural form. Before /ar/, however, the column headed 'glided' shows several changes:

1) Young men decrease glided realizations from 50% 'kyap' to 36% 'kyar.'

2) Older men decrease glided realizations from 86% 'kyap' to 69% 'kyar.'

3) Young women increase glided realizations from 53%

Table 1. Consonant variants according to vowel height

	Velar	Palatalized	Glided
MEN			
Before /ɪ/	9% (7)	78% (58)	13% (10)
Before /ɛ/	20% (13)	49% (31)	31% (20)
Before /a/	1% (1)	13% (8)	86% (54)
WOMEN			
Before /ɪ/	5% (1)	86% (18)	9% (2)
Before /ɛ/	14% (6)	59% (26)	27% (12)
Before /a/	3% (1)	19% (7)	78% (28)
BOYS			
Before /ɪ/	0% (0)	98% (47)	2% (1)
Before /ɛ/	31% (11)	49% (17)	20% (11)
Before /a/	17% (5)	33% (10)	50% (15)
GIRLS			
Before /ɪ/	4% (3)	90% (62)	6% (4)
Before /ɛ/	10% (11)	71% (55)	19% (13)
Before /a/	24% (16)	23% (15)	53% (35)

'kyap' to 66% 'kyar.'

4) Older women increase glided realizations from 78% 'kyap' to 87% 'kyar.'

The effect of sex on glided realizations in the /ar/ environment is uniform: an increase among women speakers and a decrease among men. The women's behavior is surprising. Rather than preferring velar variants to the stigmatized glided realizations, the women show the highest percentage of any group--87%--of the glided 'kyar' realizations, and the lowest percentage--8%--of the velar 'car' realizations. This tendency of the women's is unusual in light of the sociolinguistic truism that women, especially middle-aged women, will avoid a variant whose stigma is acknowledged, and will prefer a variant which approximates to the standard (here, the velar variant). The girls share with the women an increase in glided /kj/ from cap to car; although the overall percentages are lower, the rate of increase is the same.

Lurgan women and girls, rather than stigmatizing realizations like 'kyar,' seem to interpret them as having a kind of prestige, although not in the conventional sense. If so, the women have taken what was originally a neutral, phonologically conditioned rural feature and reinterpreted it as an urban feature with status. The Milroys (1978: 26) found the same phenomenon among older Clonard women in Belfast in their use of the highly stigmatized [ʌ] variant in words like pull; this variant had been prestigious in the vernacular earlier in these women's lifetimes.

The overall percentages for Lurgan boys show a decrease from the /a/ to the more conspicuous /ar/ environment. Such scores, while a significant mirror of a trend among older men, obscure the boys' acute sensitivity to style. (See Table 2.) Words of the car type are not realized at all with glides in the Lurgan boys' formal style (in the data for this study), although glides turn up in varying percentages in the non-rhotic environments. But in their informal style, the boys reveal that they have not lost their 'kyar' glides at all, but, like the women and girls, increase them--from 54% in the pre-/a/ ('kyap') class to 77% in the pre-/ar/ ('kyar') class.

Style for the Lurgan boys appears to be at least partly idiolectal, tied to upward mobility as much as to the context of the speech event. Because there is not a great deal of data from the boys, and because (ky) words are relatively infrequent, it is useful to look at lists of the words that actually occur in the data, and at their manifestations in the low environments:

	Velar	Palatalized	Glided
Gordon B. (IRSHE)	/ar/ card(4x) /ɝ/ Guernsey girls	/ɹ/ Kevin /a/ catechism /ar/ Carrick(2x)	/ɛ/ Kenneth /a/ catechisms Chicago
Brian C. (Formal Style)	/ɛ/ chemistry(2x) /a/ camera can't(2x) can Gatwick /ar/ cards(3x) /ɝ/ girls	/a/ can't(3x) catch /ar/ character car cards(4x)	/a/ can
Brian C. (Casual Style)		/a/ can catch cancel(2x) /ar/ car character(2x)	
John Cu. (Casual Style)	none	/ɛ/ Kenny kept /a/ can't(2x) /ɝ/ Kerwin	/a/ academy cat can't Cassidy(2x) /ar/ car(2x) Carol Carr /ɝ/ girl
Chris L. (Casual Style)	none	/a/ can	/ɛ/ Kelly /a/ gassed cat cahooing(2x) /ar/ carry-on(n.) /ɝ/ girl(2x)

Table 2. Realizations of (ky) by groups and styles

	Formal Style			Casual Style		
	Vel	Pal	Gli	Vel	Pal	Gli
WOMEN						
/æ/	24%	47%	29%	8%	66%	26%
/a/	5%	24%	71%	0%	13%	87%
/ar/	15%	19%	66%	0%	0%	100%
GIRLS						
/æ/	14%	74%	12%	15%	46%	38%
/a/	33%	29%	38%	11.5%	11.5%	77%
/ar/	11%	17%	72%	20%	20%	60%
BOYS						
/ɛ/	56%	17%	28%	0%	69%	31%
/a/	29%	24%	47%	0%	46%	54%
/ar/	47%	53%	0%	0%	23%	77%

John X. (Casual Style)	none	/ɛ/ guess /a/ can	/ɛ/ together /a/ cahooer /ar/ car(6x)
Ciaran (Casual Style)	/a/ camera /ar/ car cards(5x) /ɝ/ girl	/a/ can't(4x) cancel /ar/ carol	none

Three of the boys, John C., John X., and Chris L., were only taped in casual style--they had forgotten about the tape recorder, and no fieldworker was present. These three speakers show the high vowel environments typically palatalized, while the low environments--/a/, /ar/, /ɝ/, and occasionally /ɛ/--are almost always glided. Such data reinforces the allophonic theory: that glides appear as a phonetic intrusion between a palatalized velar stop and a low vowel. The other two boys--Brian and Ciaran--have few or no glided (ky) tokens, regardless of style. They illustrate two social constraints which may outweigh the allophonic, or environmental, constraints: urban influence and desire for prestige. Ciaran can be accounted for as a native of Andersonstown who shares the Belfast flat with the Lurgan boys. Belfast males of Ciaran's age do not use glided variants, as already observed in the quotation from J. Milroy. Brian is a native of Lurgan, and close friends with John C.; the two are the same age. Yet their rate of glided (ky) is very different. What accounts for this difference?

A likely answer is that Brian works in a job where his image, as conveyed by his speaking, makes a difference. He is a computer systems analyst whose job involves frequent telephone calls to the parent company in England. He told the fieldworker on one occasion that he must speak a standard variety of English rather than 'sound Lurgan.' A friend described him on another occasion as 'upwardly mobile.' Even in the casual speech style yielding the second set above, then, Brian appears to guard, perhaps unconsciously, against the use of a conspicuous and stigmatized feature such as glided (ky). His idiolect, a <u>de facto</u> perpetual formal style, dominates the boys' formal style category in Table 2.

Older women speaking in formal style, like the boys, have fewer glides in the 'kyar' class (66%) than in the 'kyap' class (71%), indicating some attention to the glide in the more conspicuous phonetic environment <u>when</u>

they are monitoring their speech. In casual style, the women's 'kyar' class is realized with the glide 100% of the time, compared to 87% for 'kyap.' Such a discrepancy between formal and casual style has been observed by Labov, where the stigmatized feature decreases in formal style. However, the women as a group do not approach anything like Brian C.'s avoidance of the glide. 66% is still a healthy percentage. And recall that even in Brian's casual style, he avoids glides, whereas they are categorical for the women's casual style.

Speaking in a casual style, girls realize glides in the pre-/a/ environment at a rate of 77%. If the girls behave like the women on this variable, 'kyar' should show glides even more frequently, but as only five tokens with /ar/ occurred in the data in casual style, it is difficult to say whether the three out of five ratio of 'kyar' to 'car' holds true. In formal style, the girls increase glides in 'kyar' (72%) over those in the 'kyap' class (38%). Such behavior is without precedent among the other groups. For the other three groups of speakers, the /a/ environment is less conspicuous, and thus less liable to stylistic correction (or avoidance of glides) than the /ar/ environment. For the girls, the /a/ environment seems more liable to such correction (with 33% velar, 29% palatalized, and 38% glided) than the /ar/ environment.

	Velar	Palatalized	Glided
Joanne V. (Formal Style)	/ɛ/ record(n.) /a/ can't McGarretty candid camera California(4x) /ar/ garage(2x)	/ɛ/ Kelly /a/ Kathy Canada(2x)	/ɛ/ forgetting /a/ can
Valerie L. (Casual Style)	/ɝ/ Kirkpatrick	/a/ can't(3x) can calculator /ɛ/ chemistry	/a/ gather(n.) /ar/ cards(5x) garden /ɝ/ girl(3x)
Avril L. (Casual Style)	/ɛ/ kept /a/ Kathleen galvanometer	/ɛ/ chemistry Ken(3x) /a/ can can't	/ɛ/ altogether chemistry /a/ can't

	care curly(2x)	/ar/ cards(2x) Carrick /ɝ/ care(3x)	
Margaret P. (Casual Style)	/a/ can	/a/ can't	/a/ can't Cathal's reincarnation /ɝ/ girl
Margaret P. (Formal Style)		/ɝ/ girl	/ɛ/ get kept /a/ can't(2x) Cathal /ar/ guard car Gary carrying cart /ɝ/ skirt girl(6x)
Evelyn M. (Casual Style)	/a/ B'castle(?)	/a/ can't	/ɛ/ together /a/ Catholics can't(2x) Kathy /ar/ card
Kate H. (Casual Style)	/ɛ/ Celtic /ar/ card /ɝ/ girl(2x)	/ɛ/ Kelly /ar/ Carr's /ɝ/ care(2x)	/ɛ/ Kelly /a/ gabbing gang can can't(2x) McAllister /ar/ Carr's /ɝ/ girl(2x) care(2x)
Kate H. (Formal	/ɛ/ Celtic	/ɛ/ Celtic(2x)	/ɛ/ together

Style)	/a/ propaganda can't /ɜ/ girl curse	/a/ can't capitalists /ar/ charismatic	
Linda Mc. (Casual Style)	/a/ can /ɜ/ girls(4x) care	/a/ can't /ɜ/ girl(6x)	/ɛ/ chemical together /a/ Cann can't(5x) candles(2) can cat /ar/ carry /ɜ/ girls(2x)
Linda Mc. (Formal Style)	/ar/ card / ɜ/ care curse girl(2x)	/ɛ/ kept /ɜ/ girl girlfriend	/a/ can't gathering cash Newcastle can candles /ar/ character /ɜ/ girls

We must conclude that there are both sex- and age-related constraints on the (ky) variable. Within the male group, we see a conventional pattern in apparent time: older men preserve a conservative feature at a high rate of frequency. There is no significant variation among the men according to style; /a/ and /ar/ environments are realized with categorical glides, even in formal contexts and with a fieldworker present. The younger men, however, are sensitive to style; Brian C.'s case shows that upward mobility is a constraint sufficient to cause glides virtually to disappear from a Lurgan male's idiolect. Like the females in Labov's study of New York City (1972: 243, 303) and Trudgill's study of Norwich (1974: 94), the Lurgan boys as a social group are the most status-conscious in their community, the most sensitive to standard prestige forms (Labov 1972: 243, 303; Trudgill 1974: 94; Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 97-98).

Older Lurgan women have categorical glides for the /ar/ class in their casual style. They are unlike their

male contemporaries but like the younger men in showing more awareness of the glides, as they use them somewhat less in formal style. The younger women, however, make a break from the rest of the community, appearing to increase the rate of glided variants in their formal speech style.

We may expect young women to be innovators in linguistic change, normally in the direction of a prestige form (cf. Cook 1969 on urban influence from Salt Lake City), and the Milroys have shown (1978: 28) that young women can adopt and promote the use of an urban feature with negative prestige. However, the glided (ky) is still regarded in both urban and rural Ulster speech communities as a conservative rural feature, the like of which is avoided by prestige-seeking young women in most speech communities studied to date. The backed (a) identified by the Milroys, on the other hand, while not a prestigious standard feature, was 'borrowed directly or indirectly from a higher-ranked community'--that is, from Protestant Ballymacarrett to Catholic Clonard. The motive for the Clonard girls' borrowing backed (a) is therefore more obvious than the motive for the Lurgan girls' continuing to use glided (ky).

May we conclude, then, that the Lurgan girls are in the grip of a mysterious conservatism? It is more likely that different groups in the community have disparate prestige norms--different values for the (ky) variable--and such a hypothesis fits the data better. Recall that men have high frequencies of the glided variant unless they are both young and upwardly mobile. Young women can, in the right circumstances, also subscribe to the prestige norm, as does Joanne V. above. She is a headmaster's daughter and a 'lame'--that is, on the periphery of the speech community and not inclined to share its norms. But for most Lurgan women, young and old alike, the /ar/ environment seems actually to promote the choice of the glided (ky) variant. Two conclusions are possible: first, that glided (ky) is not exclusively an old-fashioned rural feature, but has acquired an urban value (cf. the progress of the (A) variable in Belfast); and second, that glided (ky) represents for the girls a covertly prestigious feature--perhaps more than covert--since it is used in formal style with equal or greater frequency. The girls are reinterpreting a formerly stigmatized rural feature as having prestige value for their speaker network.

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SECTION E

STYLISTICS

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FRIEL'S TRANSLATIONS: HIBERNO-ENGLISH AND EXISTENTIAL TRAUMA

The focus of my lecture this morning is, I think, distinctively different from that of your other lectures, partly because I have no expertise in linguistics, partly because I shall be examining a literary text, the play Translations, not as a repository of interesting linguistic usage but because, in the confident words of its author, Brian Friel "[it] is ... a fiction, with the authority of fiction." When he adds "You don't go to Macbeth for history," he is far from undermining the status of Macbeth as an impetus toward human understanding; he may well be hinting at its inherent superiority over what we call history!

The play, first presented by the theatre company of the then newly established Northern Ireland cultural movement, Field Day, on 23 September 1980, at the Guild Hall, Derry, was given a rapturous reception, both popular and critical, Michael Coveney in The Financial Times hailing it as "the most important new Irish play for years", Irving Wardle in The Times saluting it as "a national classic" and Ronald Bryden observing, after its premiere in Canada, "Translations makes [Friel] one of the more important playwrights in the world". Subsequent productions – in the Lyttleton Theatre in London, in Paris, in Melbourne, in San Francisco – have been at least as successful; there is shortly to be a production in Moscow.

The play is set in the small Irish-speaking Donegal community of Baile Beag in the year 1833. The specific setting is a hedge-school "held in a disused barn or hay-shed", the schoolmaster of which is Hugh Mor O'Donnell, a rather inebriate sixty-year old, modelled, we have been told, on Friel's own great-great-grandfather. The pupils include Máire, Doalty and Bridget, all in their twenties, Jimmy Jack (nicknamed The Infant Prodigy), in his sixties, who is besotted with the Greek and Latin classics, and Sarah, of indeterminate age "between seventeen and thirty-five", who has a serious speech defect. On those occasions when Hugh is absent, the school is run by Manus, the older son of thirty, who is lame; he has hopes of marrying Máire. Impacting on this situation are two potentially far-reaching developments – the opening of a new 'national' school, in which the medium of instruction would be English, and the work of the Ordnance Survey in standardising the local place-names for cartographic purposes, work being undertaken by English soldiers, in charge of whom is Captain Lancey; his assistant is a young lieutenant, George Yolland, who is also a friend of Owen, Hugh's younger son, who has returned to Baile Beag as a financially successful man and is now working for the Survey as a civilian interpreter. Reference is made also to two off-stage characters, former pupils of the hedge-school, the Donnelly twins.

As the plot proceeds, Yolland becomes progressively more attracted by the Donegal countryside and by Máire. Their attempted love-making is witnessed by Sarah; Yolland disappears, presumably killed by the Donnelly twins; Manus in bitter disappointment, runs away and the hitherto amicable relations of army and people turn sour, as the soldiers march across fields, levelling crops, slaughtering cattle and threatening evictions, unless Yolland is found. Owen, in a major reversal, leaves with Doalty to "find" the Donnelly twins and the play concludes with Hugh's acceding to an earlier request by Máire that he teach her English. A major convention of the play is that, while written throughout in English, the characters, whether Irish or

English, are to be understood as speaking in their own vernacular. This has particular relevance to "the love scene".[1]

Brian Friel has himself given us an account of the genesis of Translations, in The Crane Bag, vol. 7, no. 2:

> For about five years before I wrote Translations there were various nebulous notions that kept visiting me and leaving me: a play set in the nineteenth century, somewhere between the Act of Union and the Great Famine; a play about Daniel O'Connell and Catholic Emancipation; a play about colonialism; and the one constant – a play about the death of the Irish language and the acquisition of English and the profound effects that that change-over would have on a people. These were the kinds of shadowy notions that visited me and left me.[2]

That kind of recurring preoccupation led him to a number of books, elements from which are present in the finished play. These are The Hedge Schools of Ireland by P.J. Dowling, which supplied the historical context for his great-great-grandfather; A Memoir of the City and North-West Liberties of Londonderry by Colonel T.F.Colby, overall Superintendent of the Survey, who is the basis for Lancey in the play, and the Letters of John O'Donovan, civilian orthographer for the Survey, later Professor of Celtic Studies at Queen's University, Belfast, who is the basis for Owen in the play. A much more recent work, published in 1975, entitled A Paper Landscape – The Ordnance Survey in Nineteenth-Century Ireland by John H. Andrews, Professor of Geography at Trinity College, appealed particularly to Friel in that it gave him "the perfect metaphor to accomodate and realise all [his] shadowy notions – map-making". That alludes only partly to the colonising motives which the play suggests as underlying the Survey, motives to do with greater military efficiency and higher taxation, motives not invisible in The Spring Rice Report of 1824, which had advocated a general survey of Ireland. Hence the observation by Manus, "It's a bloody military operation", hence the use by Field Day, as a programme note, of a remark of Lord Salisbury's: "The most disagreeable part of the three Kingdoms is Ireland and therefore Ireland has a splendid map." The more central relevance of the map-making metaphor, however, is in relation, not to ulterior motives of imperialist expansion, but to the ontologically significant procedures of naming. "You cannot rename a whole country overnight", says Yolland in Act Two. Friel himself has spoken of "having Donegal renamed in 1837", as well as of his own authorial reluctance, while writing Translations, "even to name the characters, maybe because the naming-taming process is what the play is about" (my emphasis) 'name-taming', that is, imposed from without, in contrast to the reassuring, identifying familiarity of the names, personal and topographic, which the community has created from within. Such emphasis on naming is reinforced by a number of dramatically pointed devices: characters identify themselves by a patronymic and place name (as in "I'm ... Owen Hugh Mor from Baile Beag'), in a style not yet defunct in Ireland; Hugh's absence from the stage at the beginning of Act One is accounted for by his presence at a christening, a naming into the community, of "Nellie Ruadh's baby"; most pointedly, the very opening of the play presents the audience with the sight of a character, Sarah, struggling to speak her name. Significantly, two of those instances are developed later in the play as indices of the deterioration in relationships between soldiers and people, after Yolland goes missing: Nellie Ruadh's baby dies ("It didn't last very long", Máire observes) and Sarah reverts to permanent dumbness:

> LANCEY: ... (Pointing to SARAH) Who are you? Name!
> (Sarah's mouth opens and shuts, opens and shuts. Her face becomes contorted.)

What's your name?
(Again SARAH tries frantically.)
OWEN: Go on Sarah. You can tell him,
(But SARAH cannot. And she knows she cannot. She closes her mouth. Her head goes down.)
OWEN: Her name is Sarah Johnny Sally.
LANCEY: Where does she live?
OWEN: Bun na hAbhann.
LANCEY: Where?
OWEN: Burnfoot.[3]

The association there between personal identity and place of habitation, the implication that radical re-definition of the latter may have implications for the former, underlies a comment of Friel's: "because their townland is being renamed everything that was familiar is becoming strange." That is why Yolland feels that, due to the map-making, "something is being eroded", why Doalty, "to indicate a presence", as he says, deliberately moves the surveyors' poles out of position, and why Yolland, in a metaphorical phrase which becomes literal in Act Three, observes "It's an eviction of sorts."

That last quotation would seem to invite appropriation in support of a reading of the play which unquestionably had a significant bearing on its initial success in Ireland. This reading sees as the paramount concern of the play, the destructive effects on a native culture of a combination of (a) foreign soldiers in the service of a colonising power, (b) the English language into which traditional place names are to be rendered and which is to be the new medium of educational instruction and (c) the famines of the 1840s which, whenever fore-told in Translations, are invariably juxtaposed with mention of the Survey: "... just beyond where the soldiers are making the maps – the sweet smell [of rotting potato stalks] was everywhere". A reading, then, which sees the play as essentially a parable of colonisation and of Anglicisation and the fated responses which they invite.

That such a reading is at least partly warranted by Translations we may see in a number of ways:

(i) Yolland, described by Owen as "a bloody romantic", is attracted by the prospect of living permanently in Baile Beag. He, nevertheless intuits: "Even if I did speak Irish, I'd always be an outsider here, wouldn't I? I may learn the password but the language of the tribe will always elude me, won't it? The private core will always be ... hermetic, won't it?"

(ii) The situation of Owen, – "the go-between", in his own words, – is made finely ironic. His selective translations of Lancey's announcements about the Survey, in Act One, his editing out of the more sinister political and military implications, are honourably motivated, in the interest of what he later describes as "adjusting for survival". The dangerous consequences of what had seemed merely linguistic compromise are, however, confronted by Owen in Act Three when he finds himself translating Lancey's new threatening announcements using the original Irish place names to do so. With the telling observation "I know where I live", tantamount in the play's terms to "I know who I am", he goes out with Doalty to "find" the Donnelly twins.

(iii) Similar ironies, even more subtly developed, attend on the relationship of Máire and Yolland. The short second scene of Act Two, at the conclusion of which their

kiss is witnessed by Sarah, is usually described as "the love scene" of the play. Unquestionably a moving scene, rich in tenderness, striking in theatrical impact, it is only incompletely understood if Friel's own description, "a love scene between lovers who have no common language", is unheeded. That lack of language underlies what is probably the strongest irony in the whole play: Yolland's eventual creation of a mutual sympathy with Máire, following a series of embarrassed false starts by both of them, is by means of an almost incantatory recitation of local place names in their original Irish form, to which she can respond. The irony, of course, is that the Survey, of which Yolland albeit reluctantly, is a part, exists to destroy those names. Their already limited language is thus, in the working of the plot, even more severely compromised, in terms ultimately ontological; this is reflected in more self-evident misunderstandings about space and time: (a) "I'm not going to leave here" – Yolland, "Take me away with you" – Máire; (b) "... the last thing he said to me – he tried to speak in Irish – he said, 'I'll see you yesterday' – he meant to say 'I'll see you tomorrow' " – Máire.

Those examples serve to indicate, then, that movement between the two cultures, native and foreign, given the power relationships involved, is fraught with risk, what Jimmy Jack alludes to in his only partly comic speech at the ending of the play: "Do you know the Greek word endogemein? It means to marry within the tribe. And the word exogamein means to marry outside the tribe. And you don't cross those borders casually – both sides get very angry".

That the reading above summarised is less than adequate to the totality of Translations is confirmed by both the dramatic practice and subsequent comments of Brian Friel. In 1982 he wrote a farce about, of all things, discourse analysis, entitled The Communication Cord which he as described as "an antidote to Translations"; elsewhere he has sought to distance himself from simplistically 'Gaelic' or 'republican' responses to his play: "Translations ... was offered pieties that I didn't intend for it."

The clue to a more comprehending reading of the play comes, I believe, from the special acknowledgement given in the first programme for Translations, to After Babel – Aspects of Language and Translation by George Steiner (first published in 1975). Friel's initial interest in After Babel had to do, not with Translations, but with an adaptation of Chekhov's Three Sisters, on which he was working about the same time, and with his growing awareness that "the translations [of Chekhov] which we have received and inherited in some way have not much to do with the language which we speak in Ireland ... Somehow the rhythm of these versions do not match with the rhythms of our own speech patterns, and I think that they ought to, in some way ... The work I did on Three Sisters somehow overlapped into the working of the text of Translations."[4] That concern with the multifariousness of translation we may see as reflective of After Babel in two main areas:

Firstly, the characterisations, as well as the relationships of Owen, of Máire and of Yolland, are fully congruent with a number of Steiner's observations in the chapter "Understanding and Translation", as is also the "two-for-one" linguistic device: "... no two social classes, no two localities use words and syntax to signify exactly the same things, to send identical signals of valuation and inference. Neither do two human beings"(p. 45) or "On the inter-lingual level, translation will pose concentrated, visibly intractable problems; but these same problems about, at a more covert or conventionally neglected level, intra-lingually" (p. 47).

Prescinding from the aspects of it already considered, the relationship of Máire and Yolland would seem also to acknowledge a further emphasis in Steiner, that

on the linguistic barriers between the two sexes, given his belief that "There is a language-world of women" (p. 38), having to do with an "intermediary zone between the biological and the social" (p. 43) and that "Sex is a profoundly semantic act" (p. 38). From that perspective, "the love scene" dramatically enacts not simply one but two forms of linguistic fore-shortening, between two languages and between the two sexes, but without detriment to psychological credibility.

Secondly, there is the play's indebtedness to what I can best describe as Steiner's views on the necessary growing pains of a language, most graphically illustrated in the almost verbatim repetition, in the mouth of Hugh, of the following sentence: "A civilization [can be] imprisoned in a linguistic contour which no longer matches ... the changing landscape of fact" (p. 21). The view, in other words, however disconcerting to some audiences of the play that, even without the pressures of new school, Ordnance Survey and Army on the situation, the language and culture of the native Baile Beag community were already doomed to what After Babel describes as "entropy". This is skilfully reflected in the characterisation and in the stage imagery: Sarah is endeavouring to break from dumbness, to tell, in the words of Manus, "all the secrets that have been in that head of yours all these years"; Manus himself is lame, an image of the maimed, the fractured, further developed in Act Three into an image of the fugitive; Hugh is alcoholic, the drink obtained from a pub known as "Anna na mBreag's" – "Anna of the Lies". The setting, too, is suggestively revealing, the room "comfortless and dusty", containing "broken and forgotten implements". The stairway, an image of ascent, lacks a banister, a secure hold. Costumes, with the exceptions of Owen's and the soldiers', are "shabby" and "filthy". Friel does not flinch, either, from the linguistic disequilibrium deriving from such an overall scenario of human diminishment: "Yes, it is a rich language, Lieutenant, full of the mythologies of fantasy and hope and self-deception – a syntax opulent with tomorrows. It is our response to mud cabins and a diet of potatoes; our only method of replying to ... inevitabilities" (Hugh, Act Two).

All of which explains why Yolland's first impressions of Baile Beag as a kind of "Eden", "a consciousness that wasn't striving nor agitated, but at its ease and with its own conviction and assurance", are exposed to such cruel irony by the later events of the play. That irony overturns also the romanticism and distance from reality of the use of both Máire and Yolland, in their scene, of the word "always"; it is the word which Hugh cautions her against, in the final minutes of Translations: "It's not a word I'd start with. It's a silly word, girl." That implicit endorsement of not simply the reality of, but the need for change, including cultural and language change, is completely consistent with Steiner's views on the dangers "of paralysis, of language used to formalize rather than quicken the means of human response" (p. 21). These views find their dramatic counter-part in what have become over-quoted speeches from Hugh, when faced with Owen's new-found militancy: "We must learn those new names ... We must learn where we live. We must learn to make them our own. We must make them our new home." And later: " ... it is not the literal past, the 'facts' of history, that shape us, but images of the past embodied in language – we must never cease renewing those images; because once we do, we fossilise." His promise to teach English to Máire, who intends to emigrate, is part of his own contribution to that "renewing". He is significantly aware, however, that there is loss involved: "I will provide you with the available words and the available grammar. But will that help you to interpret between privacies? I have no idea. But it's all we have. I have no idea at all." It is perhaps appropriate that Friel's final borrowing from Steiner ('interpret between privacies') should be to lament the loss of Irish.

Notes

1. When granting permission in 1981 for an Irish translation of the play by Brendan Devlin – Aistriúcháin – Mr. Friel was emphatic that the entire translation be in Irish, including the speeches in "English", so as to preserve his convention.
2. The Crane Bag, vol. 7, no. 2, p. 122.
3. Brian Friel, 1981: Translations. London: Faber and Faber, p. 62.
4. Preoccupation with the nature of English appropriate for Irish people has become of central importance to Field Day, most directly reflected in some of the essays in Tom Paulin, 1984: Ireland & The English Crisis. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Bloodaxe.

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PHATIC COMMUNION IN FLANN O'BRIEN'S THE THIRD POLICEMAN

1 Aims and scope of the investigation

This paper will examine "phatic communion" in the dialogue of Flann O'Brien's novel The Third Policeman. In doing so, it is intended that three important areas should be developed.

Firstly, the investigation will draw on a sociolinguistic framework designed for the analysis of naturally occurring conversation. This framework will be applied to the rather unusual dialogue which takes place between the characters in O'Brien's novel. It is hoped that such an analysis will highlight the ways in which the conventions of "normal" talk can be manipulated for special literary effect, and thereby explain the comic impact of this fictional dialogue. Thus, in a broad sense, the analysis can be regarded as an exercise in literary stylistics.

Secondly, by contrast, it is intended that the following analysis of literary dialogue will have some implications for the study of naturally occurring conversation. Oddly enough, by examining strikingly unusual interactions in a literary text, we may alert ourselves to the discourse patterns in everyday interaction. The principle here is in keeping with Burton (1980) in that we often only recognize norms once they are broken. Put another way, as native speakers our expectations about talk are often highlighted when these expectations are withheld.

The investigation has a more tentative third aim which is to offer a reasonably systematic explanation of the principles which make dialogue absurd. This is clearly not the place to undertake a detailed review of existing literature on absurdism. In any case, strict working definitions of the term are difficult to find. For example, Abrams (1981), in his glossary of literary terms, describes absurdism in the following way:

> The name is applied to a number of works in drama and prose fiction which have in common the sense that the human condition is essentially and ineradicably absurd, and that this condition can be adequately represented only in works of literature that are themselves absurd. (1981: 1)

Interesting though this comment may be, it still does not actually define what is meant by the term absurd. Without explaining the important principles involved, it simply tells us that absurd texts exist - thereby offering no criteria for the recognition of such a text. Although the focus of this paper is narrow (insofar as only phatic exchanges will be examined) it is hoped that the linguistic analysis will at least provide evidence

upon which an exploratory definition of the absurd can be based. Moreover, this is particularly pertinent to the present study, as the label absurd is applied to The Third Policeman with depressing regularity.

2 The notion of phatic communion

In general, phatic communion is taken to mean the kind of ritualistic linguistic behaviour which characterizes the beginnings and endings of conversations. This normally includes the formulaic gambits of greeting and parting (e.g. "Hello", "Good morning"), along with a set of stereotyped remarks concerning the weather. Malinowski, who actually coined the term in the 1920s, defined phatic communion as "a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words" (Malinowski [1923] 1972: 151). Furthermore, he stresses that, in a phatic exchange, the actual words used

> [...] fulfil a social function and that is their principal aim, but they are neither the result of intellectual reflection, nor do they necessarily arouse interest in the listener. (Ibid.)

In this respect, the information imparted between interactants in a phatic exchange can be said to be indexical, rather than cognitive (see Laver and Hutcheson 1972: 11).

Other linguists have commented on phatic communion. Fowler (1981: 84) defines it as the "routine vacuities" that people perform in verbal interaction. Lyons, on the other hand, comments on phatic communion in the following way:

> This felicitous expression [...] emphasizes the notions of fellowship and participation in common social rituals: hence "communion" rather than "communication". (1981: 143)

It is important to reiterate Malinowski's comment that phatic communion has an important social function. Among other things, this "small talk" helps avoid uncomfortable silences at the beginnings and endings of conversations. This is particularly relevant to encounters with new acquaintances. However, the kinds of topics chosen for phatic exchanges are not normally referentially significant. That is to say, such remarks are not intended to convey important or "newsworthy" information; nor are they to be interpreted as such by an interlocutor. This explains the apparent incongruity (and perhaps humour) of the following example. This exchange took place between myself and an acquaintance who is obsessed by meteorology.

> PS: It's right'n changeable today.
> James: Ah ... well ... that's probably because of the south-westerly coming in with the North Atalantic Drift ... that would bring in an occluded front,

you know ...

This rather bizarre exchange raises some issues which will be relevant to the analysis of literary dialogue. However, it might be appropriate at this stage to outline a descriptive framework intended for the analysis of phatic communion.

3 A framework for the analysis of phatic communion

I now wish to draw upon John Laver's seminal research on phatic communion. In a paper entitled "Communicative Functions of Phatic Communion" (1975) he offers a useful description of the kind of strategies that speakers use in the opening and closing phases of conversation.

In this study, Laver draws upon his personal observations of linguistic behaviour in the initial and final stages of encounters. Moreover, these observations are supported by over a hundred student projects, which examine phatic communion in a wide variety of interactions. Although he concedes that much of this work is still exploratory, he still asserts that his methodological procedure produces a wide measure of agreement about the behavioural phenomena involved.

Many of Laver's findings tie in neatly with the discussion above. For instance, he notices how, particularly in the initial phase of a conversation, speakers often make supremely obvious comments to one another. These comments - or tokens - do have a communicative function in that they serve to break any uncomfortable silence as well as laying the foundation for further interaction. In this respect, phatic tokens are used to make the transition from non-interaction to interaction smooth.

Laver develops his theory in the following way. He proposes a three-way typology which is intended to account for the literal reference of the phatic tokens. The first category is

(i) NEUTRAL TOKENS

Neutral tokens comprise references to factors concerning the context of situation, which are not personal to either the speaker or the hearer. In English, such tokens are frequently comments on the weather. There are, however, other kinds of neutral tokens. Laver provides some examples of variations on this theme: "Great view" (to a fellow tourist) or "About time these trains were cleaned" (to a fellow passenger). Clearly, in all cases, neutral tokens have relevance to factors affecting both participants equally.

The remaining two categories are:

(ii) SELF-ORIENTED TOKENS

(iii) OTHER-ORIENTED TOKENS

Self-oriented tokens refer to factors personal to the speaker, whilst other-oriented tokens refer to factors personal to the listener. Examples of the former category would be: "Hot work, this" or "My legs weren't made for these hills"; whilst examples of the latter category would be: "How's life?" or "Do you come here often?"

Laver takes the discussion further, by asserting that the choice of category is constrained by the relative social status of the interactant. It is worth quoting his formulation at length:

> The NEUTRAL category remains available to a speaker of any relative social status, but the conventional choice between the SELF-ORIENTED and the OTHER-ORIENTED category is normally governed by the status differential between the two speakers. In an "upwards" interaction, when a nonsolidary inferior speaks first to an acknowledged superior, he may choose the self-oriented category, but not the other-oriented category. In a "downwards" interaction, where a nonsolidary superior speaks first to an acknowledged inferior, he may choose the other-oriented category, but not the self-oriented category. (1975: 224)

Thus, if a superior were to initiate the phatic exchange, he would use an other-oriented token (such as "that looks like hard work"). Whereas if the inferior were to initiate, a self-oriented token (such as "hard work, this") would be used. A more extreme example will emphasize this point. Imagine that you wish to initiate a phatic exchange with a member of the British royal family. The selection of an other-oriented token which, say, commented on the physical disposition or demeanour of the interlocutor, is unlikely to be the best choice that one might make.

The Laver framework (as outlined above) will now be applied to some short sequences of phatic communion in Irish fiction. Examples 1a-d (below) are all taken from Flann O'Brien's novel The Third Policeman. However, in order to place these examples firmly in context, it is necessary to say a few words on the plot of the novel - even at the expense of spoiling the story for those yet unfamiliar with the text.

The rather bizarre plot of The Third Policeman centres on an unnamed first person narrator. Early in the novel, this protagonist forms a partnership with a rascal named Divney. Together they murder an old man and rob him of his mysterious black box in which are contained apparently infinite riches. However, a short time later, the protagonist is in turn murdered by his partner in crime. After his death, which is somewhere in the second chapter of the book, he tells of his strange adventures in a nightmarish world, where he encounters a duo of excessively obese policemen. So peculiar is this world that

eternity is realized as an accessible place which can be reached simply by means of an escalator. What is really disconcerting, however, is that we don't know that the main character has been dead during all this - we only discover it in the final chapter of the novel. In this respect, the novel actually has an in medias res ending - if that is possible - as it concludes with a sudden switch back in time to a scene from eight chapters earlier. There is the implication that the strange events of the novel will unfold again and again, in an infinite cycle. Thus it would seem reasonable to suggest that linguistic interaction in the novel is bound to be in some way peculiar, particularly when one remembers that the main speaker is, in fact, dead and all his co-participants in conversation are manifestations of his own consciousness.

4 The analysis

Example 1.a (below) occurs in the seventh chapter of the novel. At this stage the protagonist has been arrested for an obscure murder which is actually unrelated to the one he himself has committed. As he has the misfortune to be close at hand when news of the murder reaches the police barracks, he is arrested and summarily sentenced to death. During the subsequent period of remarkably lax incarceration the following exchange takes place:

1.a [...] MacCruiskeen was not gone for long but I was lonely during that diminutive meantime. When he came in again he gave me a cigarette which was warm and wrinkled from his pocket.
"I believe they are going to stretch you," he said pleasantly.
I replied with nods (Picador edition: 90)

In this example, Policeman MacCruiskeen initiates a very unusual phatic exchange. Several points concerning this phatic token merit discussion.

First of all, it is clear that MacCruiskeen selects an other-oriented token: he refers to a matter which is personal to the addressee. This is interesting, as an encounter between a policeman and a prisoner would normally be considered a "downwards" interaction, with the former holding superior interactive rights. In this respect, MacCruiskeen's phatic token is in keeping with the formula proposed by Laver.

Furthermore, it is significant that the policeman's remark is about an AB-event, as defined by Labov and Fanshel (1977: 100). In a dyadic interaction, AB-events concern information which is known to both speakers. In this case, MacCruiskeen (speaker A) is referring to an AB-event - which is the question of the protagonist's impending execution. The protagonist (speaker B) is already aware of this information - it is part of the shared knowledge of the interactants. Such AB-events play an

important part in phatic communion. As they represent knowledge that is already known to both participants, they are not referentially important in themselves. Rather, references to AB-events are used in a social-solidary sense. By focusing on mutually shared knowledge, they provide a kind of "safe" conversational token which allows further referentially significant transactions to take place. (For a fuller discussion of the role of AB-events in phatic communion, see Burton (1980: chapter 1).)

It is also worth noting the overall propitiatory nature of MacCruiskeen's phatic initiation. For instance, the token is accompanied by the gift of a cigarette. Moreover, the authorial clue "pleasantly" in the reporting clause emphasizes the friendly intention behind the utterance. There is also a suggestion of informality with the lexical selection of "stretch" - which serves as a casual (and somewhat grisly) euphemism for "hang". It is interesting that the phatic purpose of the utterance is discerned by the interlocutor who responds with an affirmatory non-verbal surrogate.

In fact, the discussion of example 1.a provides an appropriate place at which to introduce another of Laver's observations on phatic communion. This concerns the physical movement and positioning of interlocutors during a phatic exchange. Laver proposes the following formula:

> When one participant is static in space, and the other is moving towards him, in whatever type of physical locale, then [...] there seems to be a strong tendency [...] for the "incomer" to initiate the exchange of phatic communion.
> (1975: 226)

This formula is certainly adhered to, as MacCruiskeen, the "incomer", offers the phatic token to the protagonist who is static in space. However, with regard to naturally occurring conversation, my informal observations on this particular aspect of phatic communion have not produced any significant support for this hypothesis. Furthermore, the reasons which Laver himself provides as to why the incomer should initiate the phatic exchange, seem a little speculative:

> [...] The speaker recognizes that in some sense the static listener is in a closer psychological relationship with the immediate territory than he is, and that in a way the listener can be regarded as the owner of the territory.
> (1975: 226)

This is clearly not the case with respect to example 1.a. Here, the static listener is positioned squarely within the territory of his interlocutor and as he is also under arrest, he is hardly likely to be in a close "psychological relationship" with this territory. Nevertheless, having said this, the incomer still does initiate - regardless of Laver's suggestions concerning the psychological basis for such initiation. Moreover, the same

pattern of "incomer-initiation" is repeated in all of the phatic exchanges in the novel - as further examples will show. Indeed, the novel, in this respect, sets up its own intra-textual norm.

I wish to consider one final aspect of example 1.a. This relates to Laver's observations on the motivation which prompts speakers to make phatic initiations. In fact, this final aspect is crucial insofar as it helps explain the absurdity of MacCruiskeen's utterance.

It is important to remember that perhaps the most important motivation behind phatic initiation, is that the speaker wants to declare that his intentions are pacific. As Laver points out, the speaker "asserts a claim to sociolinguistic solidarity with the listener". However, as in this initial conversation phase the psychological comfort of the co-participants is most at risk, the topic of the phatic tokens should be emotionally uncontroversial material - and it is this particular notion which finally penetrates the "absurdity" of the policeman's utterance. His "token" - if it can be called that - could hardly be said to "facilitate the comfortable initiation, free from tension and hostility, of the interaction". In fact, the converse is true. If it were not for the policeman's choice of phatic topic, the utterance would faithfully follow the formula set down by Laver. But talking glibly of the listener's impending death hardly consolidates the relationship of the participants - nor does it ease the transition to and from interaction. It is perhaps because MacCruiskeen follows meticulously all Laver's other formulae, yet departs so drastically on his choice of topic, that the utterance strikes us as both comic and absurd.

I would suggest that the impact of example 1.a is heightened by its relationship to other phatic tokens in The Third Policeman. To illustrate this, a second example of phatic communion will be introduced. This example is more typical of the general pattern of phatic exchanges in the novel, and in this respect it will provide a useful contrast to 1.a. The following exchange takes place between the protagonist and a second policeman, Sergeant Pluck, who is evidently no less corpulent than his colleague:

1.b It soon turned out that the hammering was the work of Sergeant Pluck. He was standing smiling at me from the doorway and he looked large and lifelike and surprisingly full of breakfast. Over the tight collar of his tunic he wore a red ring of fat that looked fresh and decorative as if it had come directly from the laundry. His moustache was damp from drinking milk [...].

"Good morning to you in the morning-time," the Sergeant said pleasantly.

I answered him in a civil way [...].

(Picador edition: 104)

Several interesting things happen in this exchange. Firstly, as in example 1.a, the incomer initiates the phatic

exchange. Secondly, again like example 1.a, the propitiatory aspect of the token is strengthened by contextual clues. For instance, the adverbial clue "pleasantly" appears in the reporting clause - identical, in fact, to the previous example. It is also interesting that the protagonist acknowledges the phatic purpose by answering his interlocutor in a "civil way".

Of course, where this example differs significantly from 1.a is in the choice of topic for the phatic token. Here, the material is emotionally uncontroversial as the Sergeant chooses a more conventional formula for his greeting.

It might be appropriate, at this stage, to focus on a third example of phatic communion in The Third Policeman. The following exchange - again between the Sergeant and the protagonist - occurs in the tenth chapter:

1.c [...] The Sergeant knocked very delicately at the door, came in with great courtesy and bade me good morning.
(Picador edition: 132)

It should be noted that this phatic exchange differs significantly from the previous two examples in its actual textual realization. Following the suggestion of Leech and Short (1981: 322-4), example 1.c can be coded as a Narrative Report of Speech Act (NRSA). In this case, the Sergeant's utterance is deeply embedded in the central narrative structure. The previous two examples, on the other hand, employ Direct Speech forms with external reporting clauses. Nevertheless it should be clear that 1.c exhibits a pattern very similar to that of 1.b. Thus, we may leave aside 1.c for the moment and move on to consider one final example from The Third Policeman.

Example 1.d (below) requires some explanation. In the final stages of the novel, the protagonist escapes from the police barracks. The word "escape" is perhaps rather strong, as he simply gets on a bicycle and casually rides away! It is during this nocturnal flight that the incident in 1.d occurs. This confrontation is, in fact, with the "third policeman" alluded to in the title of the novel. However, we have not previously encountered this mysterious figure, even though he overshadows the entire story. It should be stressed that the suspense here is considerable, as the huge policeman approaches in the darkness - making this arguably the climactic scene of the novel:

1.d The steps suddenly clattered out on the roadway not six yards away, came up behind me and then stopped. It is no joke to say that my heart nearly stopped also. Every part of me that was behind me - neck, ears, back and head - shrank and quailed painfully before the presence confronting them, each expecting an onslaught of indescribable ferocity. Then I heard the words.
"This is a brave night!"
I swung round in amazement. (Picador edition: 156)

In this example, a very subtle mismatch is achieved. The narrative detail which precedes the policeman's utterance predicts an "onslaught of indescribable ferocity". However, instead of this expected onslaught, the policeman simply provides an affable, relaxed phatic token. Indeed, this is a NEUTRAL token, realized, in this case, by a commonplace remark on the weather. It is difficult to imagine a "safer", more mundane initiation to a conversation.

The very banality of this phatic token creates its own kind of deviation here. The mismatch between the expected and the realized form is striking - indeed, striking to the extent that the protagonist (as subsequent narrative reveals) is too shocked to even reply.

To follow this discussion through, I would suggest that phatic tokens can be regarded as politeness strategies. Now, in their impressive paper on politeness phenomena, Brown and Levinson (1978) contend that politeness may be abandoned under certain conditions. These conditions are normally emergencies, where politeness strategies are foregone in the interests of urgency and efficiency. With regard to example 1.d, an emergency situation certainly prevails. However, the politeness strategy which is realized in the form of a phatic token is quite unexpected. It is worth re-iterating that an "onslaught of indescribable ferocity" is predicted: what is offered is a mild solidary neutral phatic token.

I wish to conclude this section by examining a phatic token taken from a text other than The Third Policeman. The following example comes from the Lady Gregory tale Cuchulain of Muirthemne. In this particular episode, Cuchulain has spent an uncomfortable night on the sea-shore:

2 He [i.e. Cuchulain] was sitting there, towards the break of day, worn out and discouraged, and he saw the great shadow shaped like a giant coming westward from the sea.
"This is a bad night," he said.
"It will be worse for you yet," said Cuchulain.
(1902: 73)

Here, it would appear that the giant makes a rather obvious comment on the weather. (It has been previously established that this night is both cold and windy.) In this respect, it is possible to interpret his remark as a NEUTRAL phatic token. Furthermore, the giant is moving whilst Cuchulain is seated - which supports the tendency shown in examples 1.a-d, where the "incoming" participant initiates the phatic exchange.

However, it is likely that the giant uses this phatic token in an ironic way. Certainly, if he and Cuchulain are enemies - as a later incident in the tale suggests - then a genuine propitiatory token is hardly likely to have been intended. It would seem appropriate to say that the giant is cynically mimicking phatic initiation. In any case, Cuchulain totally

refuses any possible propitiatory gesture, and bluntly returns the token with a threat.

One of the reasons for including this particular example from Lady Gregory, is the resemblance which it bears to example 1.d. There may be some significance in this resemblance. Indeed, it is conceivable that the example from The Third Policeman is actually a parody of the type of dialogue which is found in Celtic legends. This particular point, although beyond the scope of this paper, is certainly one which might be developed in future analyses.

5 Conclusions

This concluding section will be devoted to a brief discussion of the results of the analysis. It will also consider some of the theoretical implications of these results.

In order to bring the various strands of discussion together, a Token Realization Matrix has been developed (see Figure 1). Although this matrix is not based on strictly quantifiable data, it nevertheless provides a convenient way of looking at the important features of each example. It should also highlight, to a certain extent, some of the significant "deviations".

FIGURE 1

TOKEN REALIZATION MATRIX

	POSITION (Opening Phase)	INCOMER INITIATES	MATERIAL (Emotionally uncontroversial)	POSITIVE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT BY ADDRESSEE
Ex. 1.a	/	/	X	/
b	/	/	/	/
c	/	/	/	/
d	/	/	/	X
Ex. 2	/	/	/	X

With regard to the first column of the matrix, all the phatic exchanges studied are clearly positioned in the opening (as opposed to closing) phase of interaction. The second column shows that in all cases the incoming participant initiates the phatic exchange. The tendencies displayed by the remaining two columns are more complex, and are best explained by commenting on each of the examples on the left hand side of the matrix.

By looking across the matrix, it is clear that examples 1.b and 1.c realize all four features. In fact these examples represent the general form for phatic initiation in The Third Policeman - the phatic exchanges which have not been covered in this paper exhibit the same basic tendency. Thus, examples 1.b and 1.c reflect the intra-textual norm for phatic initiation in the novel.

Example 2, taken from the Lady Gregory tale, does not realize the fourth component on the matrix. As can be seen, a positive acknowledgement from the addressee is withheld. Indeed, the addressee in this case actually turns the phatic token on its head and converts it into a threat.

These are problems accounting for the absurd feel of example 1.d on this kind of matrix. One may recall that, given the circumstances of the exchange, the phatic token itself is startling. In fact, the deviation here is because the speaker actually selects neutral, emotionally uncontroversial material in an emergency situation. To highlight this kind of deviation, an additional component which accounted for, say, the extra-linguistic context of the exchange would have to be built into the matrix. There is also no acknowledgement from the addressee in this particular example. However, this is significantly different from example 2 in that the addressee, here, is simply too terrified to reply to the phatic token.

A final comment is necessary on example 1.a. The absurd effect of this example is achieved quite clearly through the choice of material for the phatic token. This is the only token analysed which does not select emotionally uncontroversial material. Bearing this in mind, it might therefore be argued that example 1.a is foregrounded. If this is the case, it is a particularly interesting example of foregrounding, as it appears to operate on two distinct levels. Firstly, it is foregrounded by its relationship to naturally occurring conversation. A phatic initiation which amicably introduces the topic of the interlocutor's imminent execution is surely deviant! Secondly, example 1.a is foregrounded by its relationship to the patterns of interaction set up in the novel. Examples 1.b, 1.c and 1.d provide a statistical basis for this claim. This particular kind of foregrounding might be more appropriately termed internal deviation (see Leech and Short 1981).

It is interesting that in the case of example 1.a only one of the four features displayed along the top of the matrix is withheld. Nevertheless, considerable effect is achieved by this simple manipulation. In fact, this is a general paradigm for the style of O'Brien's fictional dialogue. His "absurd" touches do not derive from stringing together unrelated sequences of utterances. Nor do they emanate from complete breakdowns in discourse coherence. Instead, they are produced from careful manipulations, here and there, of the strategies of verbal interaction. Much more could be said on this topic. In this paper, by simply looking at the way in which characters initiate phatic exchanges,

we have focused on just one aspect of verbal interaction.

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SECTION F

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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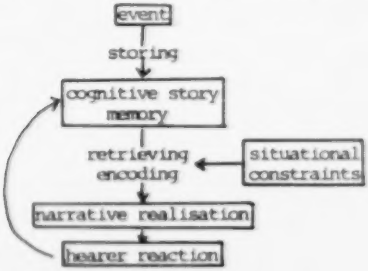
VERBAL PLANNING AND NARRATIVE STRUCTURE: THE BELFAST NARRATIVE

The narrative is obviously one of the most attractive objects of study in discourse analysis. There is no introductory book in this linguistic field without a large section on story-telling (e.g. Stubbs 1983). Narratives stand out in discourse as being neatly definable discrete units, quite different to the fuzzy notions and the morass of indeterminateness linguists working in pragmatics normally have to struggle with. Yet most studies on the narrative, be they simply descriptive like that of Labov 1972 or more rule-oriented like those of Quasthoff 1980 or de Beaugrande 1982, suffer from two major deficiencies: The first has to do with the data source. The data upon which some of these studies draw are altogether literary without taking into account the specific quality of literary language. I think a more revealing approach would be to start with the conversational narrative in everyday communication and then to compare these descriptions with poetic narratives trying to find similarities or deviations.
When they are not poetic, the narratives are produced in unusual settings which the speaker normally does not encounter in his everyday activities i.e. they are either elicited in the linguistic interview or, even worse, are simply produced in tests (van Dijk 1979). Another much favoured procedure is that of simply recording narratives from the media, T.V. or radio broadcasting. Even in more profound studies (Quasthoff 1980) the setting is rather homogeneous and in some way exceptional. Quasthoff takes her data from interviews at the welfare office (see also Rehbein 1980). All these situations have one basic feature in common: The informants are not in charge of the situation. The situations are prestructured with the narrator having hardly any influence on this structure. This does not mean that these situations do not occur or that they are less "natural". But are these the kind of situations we normally tell stories in?
The second shortcoming is the tendency to focus on homogeneity and to leave variation aside. This is understandable if one thinks in terms of story grammars (de Beaugrande 1982). To postulate rules for narratives one needs regularity rather than variation.
My interest is somewhat different: I want to compare narratives from different speech events/settings and see whether the heterogeneity of the setting is in some way mirrored by the structure or by other narrative features. I will then endeavour to explain any variation which occurs.

From the event to the narrative: a psycholinguistic model

The following psycholinguistic process provides the background for such an explanation: Figure 1 shows a hypothetic model of this process:

Fig. 1 Formation of the narrative: a hypothetic model



The starting point is the event itself in which the narrator has been either participant or simply observer. The event, should it be significant/unusual enough, is then stored in long-term-memory as the 'cognitive story' (Quasthoff 1980)[1]. In discourse, the cognitive story is retrieved from the memory and then coded into a narrative. It is on this process that situational constraints operate. The reaction of the discourse participants to the narrative leads to either a stabilisation of the cognitive story, or, especially when it is told for the first time, to a rearrangement. This process is repeated every time the narrative is realised in discourse. In the end this leads to a more and more effect-geared narrative with a clear structure. The entire retrieval and encoding process, the actual verbal planning, needs time, time an informant faced with the notorious 'danger-of-death question'[2] does not have. Therefore the narratives produced in such a situation should differ from narratives in situations in which the speaker himself determines whether the time is ripe to tell his tale.

The questions for my analysis are: Can this verbal planning process be observed in actual discourse? How does it effect structure? What are the situational constraints operating on it?

The data

My database is provided by 23 stories told by 15 different narrators taken from the Belfast Linguistic Survey (BLS)[3] (For details see Milroy 1980 and Milroy 1981). For the definition of the narrative I refer to Labov 1972:
"We define narrative as one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred." (359)
I do, however, not exclude narratives in which the narrator is not the main protagonist in the event. I can see Labov's reason for making this distinction. I do not think it necessary for my task.

(For a comprehensive discussion on different definitions of the narrative see Stein 1982.).

The data collection procedures in the BLS allowed for two basically different speech events (For a more detailed analysis of the different speech events in the Belfast data see Milroy/ Milroy 1977.): the linguistic interview and the 'state of open talk', a speech event in which no dominant speaker grants the right to talk by nominating the subsequent speaker. Every discourse participant possesses the equal right to talk, interrupt etc. In this situation the fieldworker herself retreated into the background assuming the role of participant observer.
During the state-of-open-talk situations, narratives frequently occurred with quite a number of different functions. As I neither collected the narratives nor was present at the recordings, my approach as far as attributing pragmatic functions to particular narratives is concerned will be an interpretative one.

Narrative features

The narrative features under investigation were those I presumed to be sensitive to time, planning and situational constraints:

1) The order of the narrative parts
   "a. Abstract: what was this about?
   b. Orientation: who, when, what, where?
   c. Complicating action: then what happened?
   d. Evaluation: so what?
   e. Result: what finally happened?" (Labov 1972:370)
2) The type of evaluation
   I made gross distinctions between external and internal. External evaluations are overt comments on the event by the narrator, who thereby leaves the point of reference. There is usually a tense shift involved. Internal evaluation is embedded. The narrator does not leave the point of reference.
3) Performance features
   There is direct speech in the complicating action.

Narrative types

In the data I found the following different types of narratives: The main distinction is: elicited vs. selfembedded. The method of elicitation is the danger-of-death question. The following exchange is a typical example of this procedure:

fieldworker: Did you ever have a bad experience?
G.K.: Oh yes, getting into trouble.
fieldworker: What happened?
G.K.: BEGINNING OF THE NARRATIVE

A slightly different situation is the group interview, in which the fieldworker quite often does not address one individual but asks the group. One member of the group then volunteers to tell

a story. In this situation the fieldworker sometimes obviously felt the need to alter her elicitation technique. She started with a general argument (i.e. "Are the soldiers really as bad as the boys say?") thus attributing a particular function - argumentative in this case - to the narrative to be told.

With selfembedded narratives it is the speaker himself who decides to narrate at a certain point in discourse. This type of narrative can acquire quite a number of communicative functions: argumentative, entertaining, self-aggrandizement, relief and phatic. I am well aware of the fact that attributing one particular function to one particular narrative is quite an extreme abstraction. But to say narrative X serves function A only means that this function is dominant. There might be a variety of other functions, on different communicative levels, which narrative X serves. The five functions in detail[4]:

argumentative
The informant narrates because he wants to prove or underline a certain argument, be it political or of a more private nature. The experience recounted in the narrative should be taken as proof for the argument by the interlocutors.

entertaining
Stories of this type are told to entertain, simply to make the listeners laugh, thus creating an agreeable social atmosphere. To prove oneself a good storyteller is certainly a second function, which most of the narratives of this category serve.

self-aggrandizement
This is a particularly difficult function to work with. To attribute it to a particular story means relying heavily on interpretation. The argumentative function poses no problem in this respect because there is always a general argument at the beginning or in previous stretches of discourse. In entertaining stories the analyst can go by the hearer reaction. Unfortunately the aggrandizement function is not marked in this way. Nevertheless, I consider it one of the dominant functions in the Belfast data. The narrator wants his interlocutors to see him in a favourable light i.e. he wants to appear physically strong, witty, fearless etc. As he cannot show his qualities in discourse, he must refer to the narrative to relate actions in which he acted out his abilities. He leaves the conclusion to the hearer.

relief
The narrator wants to digest a particularly horrifying experience by sharing it verbally with others. Psychologists are well aware of this phenomenon.

phatic
The informant tells the story in order to define or maintain social relationships in discourse. The only example of a narrative where this function is dominant - it cannot be excluded from all the other narratives - stems from a one-to-one situation in which only the fieldworker and the informant, a woman, were present.

The event related in the story is quite banal. To make up for this shortcoming the narrator overevaluates i.e. the evaluation section is larger than the complicating action.

There are two situational constraints on some of the self-embedded narratives, which I suspected to have some kind of influence on verbal planning and structure: There are stories in which very recent events are related and stories which are the result of a common effort of at least two narrators ('shared narrative').

Figure 2 gives a taxonomy of the narrative types under investigation.

Fig. 2 narrative types in the Belfast data

```
interview: elicited: dyadic
                     group
           selfembedded: argumentative

state-of-open-talk: argumentative
                    entertaining
                    self-aggrandizement
                    relief
                    phatic
                    ---------
                    recent event
                    shared
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Findings

There is a clear structural difference between elicited and self-embedded narratives. Figure 3 gives the structure of four elicited narratives.

Fig. 3 interview: elicited narratives

(1) o-e-o-ca-r-e-o
(2) a-ca-r-o-a-ca-r-o-r-e-r-e
(3) o-ca-o-ca-r-e
(4) o-ca-o-ca-e-ca-r-e
(symbols: a=abstract, o=orientation, ca=complicating action, r=result, e=external evaluation, arg=argument)

The following common features can be observed. There is more than one orientation section. This means that the informant adds information without which the fieldworker would have difficulties in understanding the complicating action. As a consequence the complicating action is interrupted at some point. In one case (1) there is an orientation section at the end of the narrative:

> '...In fact, I'll give you a funny instance. There was one time the army was shooting

C.S. gas. I just happened to wander onto the road then - you see, I lived at the first door - it was on the main road and I used to go out to watch them. I was coming back and my sister had locked me out and I had to run along with the crowd. LAUGHS You see, you closed the door to keep the crowds out - I was out at the time."

The informant obviously feels that the fieldworker is not reacting to the narrative in the way intended.
Evaluation is always external. The informant makes overt comments on the complicating action.
There are no performance features in (1) and (2), narratives (3) and (4) however, are performed. They are narratives from a group interview.

These structural features are not wholly a function of the interview situation itself, be it dyadic or group. They are the result of the elicitation procedure. The structure of narratives in interviews is different if they are selfembedded by the informant. The following exchange leads to such a narrative. This time the informant even closes an exchange and changes the topic slightly in order to narrate.

fieldworker: It makes you sick, you know. What do you feel, when you see television?
T.M.: I feel terrible about it.
fieldworker: Because I mean you're kind of brainwashed when you grow to the BBC's kind of approach.
T.M.: Yes. But you see what sickens me now..

These selfembedded narratives have a clear contextual function. The narrator wants to achieve a communicative goal, in most of the cases he wants to convince the fieldworker of some political argument. In the elicitation procedure he only tries to meet the fieldworker's request. Figure 4 gives the structures of selfembedded narratives in the interview situation.

Fig. 4 interview: selfembedded

(5) arg-o-ca-arg
(6) arg-o-ca-arg
(7) o-ca-e-ca-r

(5) and (6) are argumentative narratives. I could not decide on the function of narrative (7) because there was no immediate discourse context in the transcipts. The structure of these narratives is evidently simpler, with the orientation section at the beginning, followed by the actual event, closed by the result or,

in the argumentative function, by the repetition of the argument. There is only one short external evaluation in narrative (7) regarding a small section of the orientation. All narratives are very lively performed.

During the state-of-open-talk situation two different structural types can be observed. The structural type similar to the one found in the elicited narratives appears in stories of recent events. None of the discourse participants knows about the event which has happened in the not too distant past. Figure 5 shows the structure of two narratives of this type.

Fig. 5 state of open talk: recent event

(8) a-e-o-ca-e-ca
(9) o-ca-o-ca-e

In narrative (8) which serves the informative (The event is real news to the listeners.) and the entertaining function, the complicating action appears at several points. It is repeated in different words.On the whole the narrative is highly repetitive:

> "She was going through the barrier yesterday and old Annie took diarrhoea..she couldn't get away quick enough..and they were getting searched and Sarah and her started to swear at the people - you know started to shout at the girl and the soldiers - the girl and the soldier and they got a police tender to lift them all. I'm sure they had to laugh, too, they could hardly get her into the tender - she's like a big horse, you know - had to shove her into the tender. Annie - Annie Newbury had to rush when they were searching them, she couldn't get by quick enough - Annie was on the old - of wine, she must have been on the wine!"
> (Repetitions are underlined.)

In (9) the complicating action is also repeated. The repetition occurs after the second orientation, where information is added. The evaluation is external in both cases. In both narratives the listeners make suggestions for additional evaluation. In (8) this evaluation is eventually taken up by the narrator ("She must have been on the wine!")The discourse participants try to interpret the actions of the protagonist in the event. Only narrative (9) is performed.

There is another situational constraint which obviously leads to a diffuse structure. Some of the afore mentioned features, i.e. repetitions of the complicating action and external evaluation can

be found in the shared narratives. Figure 6 shows an exemplary structure of such a narrative.

Fig. 6 state of open talk: shared narrative

(10) o - e - ca - ca - e - ca - e - ca - e - r - e
n1 n2 n1 n1+n2 n2 n1 n2
(symbols: n1=narrator 1, n2= narrator 2)

There are no performance features in (10).

Let me dare to formulate a predictive rule at this point[5]: An ordered sequence of narrative parts (o-ca-r-(e)) occurs under the following situational conditions:

1. The narrator selfembeds his narrative. He decides for himself to narrate at a certain point in discourse.
2. The narrator attributes a particular contextual function to the narrative. He wants to achieve a certain communicative goal.
3. The event related in the narrative dates back quite some time. I cannot predict at this point where temporal limits lie.
4. The narrator is solely responsible for his narrative. He does not share it with a second speaker.

If these situational conditions are met, then it is more than likely that the narrative also contains embedded evaluation and performance features. Figure 7 shows the structure of such narratives in the state of open talk.

Fig. 7 state of open talk: self-embedded narratives

(11) o-ca-r (argumentative)
(12) o-ca-r-e (entertaining)
(13) o-ca-r (entertaining)
(14) o-ca-r-e (entertaining)
(15) arg-o-e-o-e-o-ca-r-o-ca-r-o-ca-r-o-ca-r-e (self-aggrandizement)

(14) is quite a good example for the liveliness of this type:

> "They'd a helluva habit of throwing paint at that time at the army..At the army - well, they broke into that wee paint shop, well, when Lizzie had the barrels somebody must have phoned the police and said: 'Second door Chadolly Street has a barrel of wine.' What did they do? They went to the wrong house, they went to the wrong side of the street, they come to wee Annie's and Annie had caught on her a two pound tin of paint. LAUGHTER It was a barrel of wine they ..it was sheer a accident that Lizzie never got caught with it."

(15) is an example of a whole story-sequence containing stories of different events produced by one single narrator. The sequence starts off with a highly repetitive large orientation section in which the narrator describes the scene, not one particular indicent.

"What do you mean - I was there LAUGHS no whatever happened I seen them all carrying suitcases and all up the Kashmir Road and women and all carrying blankets and everything they could get their hands on. Just leaving their houses there - hundreds of people running up. I thought it was the blitz or something was going on. - I was standing there to tell you the truth there was only about six fellas in this district to defend anyone -'cos every man blew, I mean they just panicked and ran, you know that sort of way - and whatever happened there were six fellas on the Kashmir Road. There was a couple standing making petrol bombs or something and I looked down the bottom of Kashmir Road hill and I couldn't believe my eyes - I couldn't believe my eyes - there were thousands of them coming down that - trying to get up Kashmir Road and they were burning houses and everything and shouting: 'Come on down!' There was only six fellas to standing there fighting them. There was thousands of them in fact there was a lot of policemen with them with guns. They had guns and there was only six fellas and they held them off for about near - two hours...ah two girls too. They held them off for about two hours - and they were - "WHAT ELSE HAPPENED?"-FIRST NARRATIVE

(Repetitions are underlined.)

It looks as if the narrator is scanning his memory for one particularly remarkable incident. There are several other instances of this phenomenon in the data. In discourse, it can happen that a speaker is interrupted during such a stretch of talk. In (15) he is given time until he finally comes up with a whole row of stories.

Explaining correlations: verbal planning

I think my observations are evidence enough for the influence of verbal planning on textual structure. Verbal planning obviously operates in two different ways. Firstly, it is responsible for coding and storing the cognitive story. The longer it is stored in the speaker's memory and the more often it is coded and restored, the more structured and the less repetitive it becomes. The structure of recent-event-narratives is evidence for this phenomenon.

The second aspect of planning concerns the actual coding in discourse. The speaker needs time to retrieve the story, to code and embed it in discourse in a functionally adequate way. If he is not granted this time as in elicitation procedures, he does not succeed in producing an organised structure, and is unable to use more sophisticated narrative features such as embedded evaluation or performance. The same diffuse structure arises if two, perhaps conflicting, verbal plans meet as in the shared narrative. The diffuseness is resolved if one narrator wins out.

Consequences

I can see two consequences arising from these findings:

1. For linguistic fieldwork:
   One should give up elicitation if one wants to gain spontaneous data i.e. one must get away from hothouse situations into the fresh air of reality.
2. For textgrammar:
   A textgrammar should see different textual structures as the result of mental processes. It should not try to imitate syntax theory by formulating context-free rules for the narrative. Narrative structure is different from sentence structure in its degree of variability which cannot be adequately dealt with if one abstracts from the situations in which stories are produced. Much more detailed analysis of narratives from different communicative situations is necessary. Neither introspection nor tests can lead in the end to an acceptable description of the conversational narrative.

Notes

I am indebted to Linda Richmond, Jens Bahns and Hartmut Burmeister for helpful suggestions and comments on this paper.

1) I would not rule out the possibility of banal events later on being made into stories.

2) "Were you ever in a situation where you were in serious danger of being killed, where you said to yourself -'This is it'?" (Labov 1972:354)

3) The distribution of sex and age is quite equal among the narrators. These are, however, no variables which I considered in the analysis.

4) See Quasthoff 1980:131-206 for the epistemological background of these functional categories. I think there is still need for a better and more detailed description of the illocutions of narratives. Speech act theory is called upon to suggest possible taxonomies.

5) I am well aware of the fact that rules in discourse analysis are different from rules on other levels of the linguistic system. They certainly have a different predictive power.

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SECTION G

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

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THE BROGUE: LANGUAGE AS POLITICAL CULTURE

Propose:

1. It is the political dynamic of language to serve the elite.

2. Terms such as norm and standard, are based on concepts of political culture.

3. The brogue is an instrument of political culture to portray the Irish as deviant.

Introduction:

Two problems have bedevilled the development of theory in sociolinguistics and have insured that Propositions 1 and 2 above have not been given the attention they deserve. Most political scientists and sociologists do not have the necessary academic training in linguistics or the required skills in phonology to deal in any adequate way with the use of language. This has resulted in such intellectuals often accepting social myths about language unquestioningly or in an inadequate focus on language as political culture. Most social scientists have not adequately explored how language is used dynamically to create and maintain elite groupings in many societies. The second problem is closely related to the first. To explore openly and adequately how language norms and standards foster and assert elitism is to risk defining the self as elite: this risk would be of especial intimidation to intellectuals and academics of a radical self-image. The risk would be the disturbance of their carefully nurtured and comforting image of ideological alienation; the risk would also include the exposure of their own active role in the socialization of elite groupings.

This paper examines the brogue in the context of Propositions 1 and 2, above.

The brogue is defined in the context of the reputed speech and writing of Irish people. The brogue is a political concept, and the brogue in the context of speech (= brogue-speak), cannot be defined in dialectological terms (Bliss 1979: 312); only phonological indicators of an atomic kind, can be given in a (stereo)type way. Certain phonological aspects of certain dialects of Hiberno-English are

> regarded by non-Irish speakers of English as typically Irish (sic)...The tendency towards dentalization in (t or d + V) or (s + t or d + V) or ((V) + n + (V) or (C)) contexts... The tendency towards dental and alveolar affricatization in (t or d + r + V) or (t or d + V) contexts respectively... The tendency

towards syllabification with (bilabial or alveolar) nasals or laterals in final position...The tendency to use /hw/ or the voiceless allophone of /w/ in certain (wh + V) contexts...The tendency towards using a dental or alveolar stop in (th + V) contexts...(Croghan 1984: 68).

Brogue-speak has assumed an added important socio-political dimension in Ireland in recent years because in Ireland "...there is also, in a state of advanced development, a prestige social dialect which is tending to operate socially as RP does in England and whose phonological tendencies are similar to those of RP" (65). It is not unreasonable to assume some important correlation between the brogue and the development of the social dialect in Ireland when it is remembered that brogue-speak is now used extensively on the electronic media in Ireland as a satirical device; and that there is a tendency to present this brogue-speak as equivalent to certain stereotypes of a rural accent in Ireland, for example. In certain humorous programmes on Irish radio and television, such brogue-speak is used to portray people as thick and ignorant, or as thick and sly. Such programmes include the television series Hall's Pictorial Weekly (9/1971 - 6/1979); and two series of radio and television programmes designed to teach Irish, Anois is Aris ((TV, 11/1981 - 4/1982, rep. 1983), where those who use Irish are often portrayed as users of brogue-speak, when speaking English.

The adoption of brogue-speak in contemporary Ireland is predictable in a culture which has failed to assert in popular and academic terms, its own linguistic identity, not only in Irish but also, and this seems to be almost completely neglected, in terms of Hiberno-English. The adoption and acceptance of many aspects of the colonizer culture, including the political culture of language, should not be unexpected in the second phase of post-colonialism in which Ireland now finds itself. In the first phase of post-colonialism, there was a high degree of consciousness of language identity in Ireland when the revival of the Irish language reached its peak. Now, in the second phase, there is an almost total but implicit acceptance of the English political culture of language. That this acceptance is largely implicit is not surprising; it is thus not overtly troublesome. But the implicitness also means that explicit discussion of the political culture of the English language, and in particular the aspect of the development of the social dialect, carries a taboo. "Ireland is now, linguistically, a British province showing all the characteristics of a Yorkshire...(65).

The brogue also needs to be defined in the context of the graphic medium (= brogue-write). From a historical point of view, brogue-write is primary and brogue-speak secondary. When print was the dominant medium, brogue-write was dominant; the growing importance of the electronic media in recent years has meant that brogue-speak is now dominant. Because the graphic is a less complex medium than speech, and because I am using the graphic medium here, for medium convenience this paper will now mainly concentrate on brogue-write; in terms of political culture, there is no difference between brogue-write and brogue-speak. It is also easier to explain the brogue as

political culture if brogue writing is taken as the primary example; brogue writing was a component of stage-Irishism, and the analysis of the brogue as part of the political culture of stage-Irishism makes the explanation of the brogue more accessible.

Bretherton's definition of "the Irish dialect", i.e., in his terms, literary dialect, in 1900 conveniently serves as an introductory description of brogue writing as used in stage-Irishism:

> In construction it is absurd. But absurdity does not distress the Irish dialect, which does not take itself at all seriously. It is intentionally the clown of dialects, and as a clown is often the medium for other peoples's wit, so is the Irish dialect often the medium for humor not necessarily native to Ireland (32).

Brogue writing may also include adaptations of a small number of syntactical items from Hiberno-English and Irish ("I'm after foolin ye"); and of lexical items ("Aren't you the rite gom to be rayding this rawmaysh"). But the use of syntax and lexis based on real Hiberno-English is also used in literary contexts which do not use stage-Irish brogue-write. It is the peculiar spelling or misspelling, which is of essential importance in the consideration of the brogue as political culture. To depict the language of certain groups as deviant by the use of special spelling is in itself political action, independent of intention or interpretation. Brogue-write carries a political gloss in the sense of Bourdieu's "objective intention" (1979: 79). This viewpoint may seem to be unduly restrictive on creative writers who wish to portray the language of certain groups by the use of dialect writing. It is restrictive. But it would be extraordinarily naive to assume that conventions are not part of political culture. Analagously, it would be naive for the user of sexist language to claim political immunity, because s/he did not intend sexism or because s/he wished to claim innocence on the grounds of convention or socialization.

Brogue-write depicts the Irish as deviant. It is based on the related assumptions that so-called standard writing is in some sense a perfect image of standard speech, and that standard writing is in some sense natural. Such assumptions are not based on linguistic but on political criteria. There are two examples of linguistic nonsense in the case of brogue-write. The first is that standard writing bears a 1:1 ratio with some mythical standard spoken language; the second nonsense is the practical failure, a failure which is also common among most phonologists, to realise that precisely as media, speech and writing are completely different. Any attempt to correlate speech and writing on the level of media is nonsense; some phonologists, including myself, in their introductory lectures on linguistics acknowledge this as nonsense, and then proceed to behave as if such a correlation was not nonsense.

Brogue writing as a linguistic device marks for deviancy. In an extension of the C.S. Pierce framework, brogue-write functions not only as symbol but also as icon and index. For example, the brogue-

write "shtik" has an iconic function of indicating the user as deviant; "shtik" also functions as the indexical sign of Irish culture (Irish culture = stage-Irishism, in the context of brogue-write); "shtik" also functions symbolically in the same way as "stick".

When G.S. attacked brogue-write over a hundred years ago, his opposition was based on the idea that brogue-write, in his terminology "jargon", was an integral part of stage-Irishism: (1882:364/5).

> ...it is my misfortune to find the Irish novel - be it good, bad, or indifferent - invariably a weariness to the flesh, a nausea, an abomination. Why? Because of the jargon, solely because of the jargon. The story is often well put together, the characters well drawn, the scenes exciting, pathetic, amusing, the true to nature, - but the jargon spoils everything ...Let no ban be laid upon local idioms or local terms of expression...But let no one 'spake' a 'worrud' or other abomination. Let there be no misspelling.

A further irony of brogue-write is that publishers tolerated and encouraged brogue-write, but often resisted Hiberno-English unless it were misspelled, as if correct spelling could only be the perfect reflection of some received, but undefined British English only, and as if the deviancy of Hiberno-English should be necessarily marked by misspelling. Sean O'Faolain received from his English publisher's reader, twenty pages of corrective notes for a manuscript "...in which the poor, puzzled man gently indicates, in page after page, that I am not using the King's English" (1937: 36). O'Faolain felt that this English censorship of a prescriptively linguistic nature, fettered his Irish literary art.

Above it was pointed out that Ireland has adapted a political model about spoken language from its colonizing neighbour; in the case of written language, it adopted almost completely its political culture from Britain. Ireland has in the modern period, and this includes the period since independence, always taken its political culture about written language from Britain. Neil Kevin in a series of articles on "Our English in Ireland" in 1939, called the spoken English of Irish graduates "uneducated" (1939 b: 225). But he also blamed the obscure use of written English in Ireland on the same collective mental state which produces the "entertaining Irish bull" (1939 a: 275):

> Boswell says, speaking of Goldsmith, 'He had, no doubt, a more than common share of that hurry of ideas which we often find in his countrymen, and which sometimes produces a laughable confusion in expressing them'.

Kevin was the heir to Molloy who wrote a series of articles in the 19th century, castigating the inability of Irish writers to use shall/will and should/would 'properly' (1892: 101). Molloy and Kevin maintained that the Irish could never be able to use perfect English because of a psycho-cultural disability; this attitude on the part of writers who were Irish and Catholic was little different from those

who used brogue-write in their proselytising literature because they thought not only was this the most suitable for the simple-minded Irish, but that it was also in some way their language (Paddy and Thomas 1820).

The brogue is a constituent part of stage-Irishism; few would maintain that stage-Irishism does not portray the Irish as deviant. This deviancy may range on a continuum from the pole portraying the Irish as lazy but amusing to the pole of savage vitriol which portrays the Irish as animals, cannibals and murderers. There was often a keen consciousness in England from as early as the 1600s, that stage-Irishism was conscious propaganda designed to portray the Irish as deviant, and that it was interpreted in Ireland as gratuitously offensive (Lawrence 1912: 349, ft.1). Later in the 17th century, the Marquess of Downshire Mss. inform us that: "The Book of Bog Witticisms or Irish Plums, being looked upon as a reflection of that nation is by the Lord Chancellors's order to be seized" (247). This book also included in some versions of its title, "Teagueland Jests...Bulls... Blunders". This seizure seems to have been an isolated incident, and certainly it did not seem to fetter the contemporaneous boom of stage-Irish dramatic writing in the post-Restoration era.

In a framework of culture as "...the symbolic organization of space by a group" (Croghan 1984: 55), stage-Irishism becomes the instrument used to define Irish space as English in a variety of ways, or to negate Irish space, or to define the social organization of space in Ireland as deviant. The culinary habits of the Irish, the rituals for marriage and death, to give a few examples, were depicted at various times as funny, strange, sub-human and so on; the Irish language was often regarded as not a language, or as an animal-like grunt system. A concerted attack on the Irish organization of space ranged from Giraldus Cambrensis at the end of the 12th century through to the late 16th and early 17th centuries with the books and pamphlets on Ireland by authors such as Campion, Rich and Spencer (Dudley Edwards & O'Dowd 1985: 85ff.). This type of writing, and its heir, stage-Irishism, is based on a national characteristics or modal personality model which would be widely adopted in this century by professional anthropologists such as Mead and Inkeles; examples of studies based on this model would include The People of Great Russia by Gorer and Rickman and much of the work by Messenger on Ireland. The use of such a model seems to have declined in recent years, possibly due to the embarrassment of the explicit use of the same model by fascist ideologies of some of the Axis powers of World War II; the model was also used extensively by the British and American governments in the 1940s. Erich Fromm in a work published first in German as late as 1979, still seems to favour such a model and gives a convenient description: that there exists a "...core of character common to most members of a society..." (1980: 57). The academic model seems to follow faithfully a social myth which seems to have serious claims on universality (Hodgen 1964).

The model is used, often, except in academia, in humorous format, intra-nationally as an instrument against groups identified, for example, by sex, religion, or colour; it is used inter-nationally

where the identity may be based on factors such as nationality, language, dialect, or so-called race and ethnicity. It is bordering on a truism to say that humour can be an important part of political culture; the primary function of humour as an instrument of political culture stems from the fact that it is humour which allows what would otherwise be taboo, expression. The near truism is asserted because some scholars seem to work with a fallacious semantic model, that if the author intention is not overtly negative, or if a work was written to meet the commercial demands of publishing or theatre, then this somehow changes the text semantic of stage-Irishism (Krause 1964; Nelson 1978: 83, 91).

Stage-Irishism is based on the same modal personality model. When Rich and Spencer were writing their anthropological studies of Irish cultural space there began also the translation of the same type of work to the medium of the theatre which has persisted down to this century (Truninger 1976: 129-131); other printed and illustrated media were also used consistently from the 1600s (131-2), and today the popular novel has adapted the genre in what Titley calls "...the latest mutation of precast Hibernatoids" (1980: 38). In this century, brogue-speak has also transferred to the medium of film, and to radio and television as we have seen above with the examples from Ireland.

While the Irish participated fully in the insult war against the Anglo-Normans and English from the end of the 12th century, they ceased to be able to do battle in the 16th century when access to the new revolutionary medium of printing was denied them. When the native Catholic Irish would gain access to printing and the theatre some would join the native Protestant Irish in using brogue-write and stage-Irishism in their writings; others would use the same national characteristics model to glorify the Irish and vilify the English. The "racism" of the Romantic nationalism of people such as Thomas Davis (Mac Lochlainn 1976), and Douglas Hyde was no different qua cultural model from the racism of stage-Irishism. Many of the Irish Romantic nationalists committed the classic category mistake. If the English or what would be perceived as anti-Irish Irish, call the Irish stupid, the Romantic response is to list all the clever Irish people in history; in such a defense the category mistake lies in attacking the conclusion instead of the premise. But while Romantic nationalism was a model twin of stage-Irishism, it concentrated less on negativism and anti-English racism than did stage-Irishism, respectively; it concentrated rather on the ideal Irish, and/or posited a metaphysical type link between the ideal Irish and the Irish language. Some of the exponents of the latter adopted the ad absurdum position of such a metaphysical link. A.E. Clery, in the extract quoted here reads like a writer of stage-Irishism, but is in fact a Romantic nationalist; in using the model which underlies stage-Irishism the conclusions look very similar. Some of the Romantic nationalists believed that the Irish vocal organs were suited biologically only for Irish; in adopting Lord Ashbourne's lex loci rule for the determination of speech, Clery maintained that the Irish could not know English except in a "pidgin" fashion:

For the rest of us, of Gaelic ancestry, the largest section of

> the Irish people, we certainly have not learned how to speak English, for we have not acquired its sounds. Still less are we able to write it. Like the Chinese with their 'pidgin' English, we have merely learnt how to make ourselves understood by a system of mispronounced words, incapable of literary development (1921: 546).

In the case of literature and the theatre many of the Romantic nationalists in their attack against stage-Irishism, also adopted the logic of the model behind stage-Irishism. They, whom Carleton called pseudo-patriots, interpreted everything which they construed as critical of Irish culture, as stage-Irishism; and in common with groupings in other societies who feel that their ideological image is under threat, they turned to social realism in literature and the theatre, which meant in Ireland heroic legend and the noble native, living and dying faithful to the received thinking of what constituted Irish ideology for the particular sub-group of Romantic nationalists (Malone 1929: 156; Maxwell 1984: 8ff.). While the cultural model underlying stage-Irishism was adopted by the various types of Romantic nationalism, the emphasis in stage-Irishism was different from the various expressions of Romantic nationalism in that it was almost exclusively negative, i.e., it was used primarily to define the Irish as deviant, and only in a very secondary way to glorify the English. There is another important difference. Even when Romantic nationalism concentrated on the negative, it could not use any device similar to brogue-write. The Irish Romanticists accepted that the English language was the primary property of the English. This is a judgment which obviously has meaning as a political value judgment; it is difficult to see what it could mean in linguistic terms. It is also spurious history. English became a first language in Ireland at the same time as it became a first language of the elite in England; it is historical myth that English ceased to be a first language in Ireland in the period of the late Middle-Ages (Canny 1980: 170). This viewpoint does not come from the stable of Romantic Nationalism which maintains that Hiberno-English is a 'purer' form of English (Sullivan 1890: 517). This linguistic myth about the purity of Hiberno-English is still a common social myth in contemporary Ireland, particularly in Dublin; the myth is probably a comforting compensation for and protection against, stage-Irishism.

The Irish consumer of literature and theatre has largely accepted stage-Irishism, without protest, since the 19th century; the contemporary exception is when the source is the English media. It is now accepted without murmur on the electronic media in Ireland as a tool of satire, melodrama and education, but not in the print media. In a colonial and post-colonial context this acceptance is not surprising. A colonized nation receives substantial aspects of its national image from the colonizer; when a nation gains independence it does not also generate a completely new image. From the 19th century the Irish adopted not only the English language as the first language of the majority of the people, but they also adopted the political culture of language from England which included the myth that Hiberno-English was deviant. This myth still has great force, and still seems to thrive in academia. In a book published recently, with the sub-title

Studies in Hiberno-English, we read the following as an operational definition:

> That is, Hiberno-English as interpreted here refers to any type of nonstandard English spoken in Ireland as a first language, whether it derives ultimately from English, or Scots, or some Irish-English 'creole', or any combination of these (Harris 1985: 13).

This definition of Hiberno-English is a value judgment and belongs to the category of political culture. In specifically linguistic terms, it is not a question of whether it is true or false. It makes no linguistic sense, whatever its meaning as social myth in England or Ireland. The author's fallacy is the fallacy of transfer, a type of category mistake: in this instance, the author transfers a political value judgment to a specifically linguistic context. When reference is made to the author's action, there is no reference to author motive or purpose, following the general assumption in this paper that the framework for assigning meaning to action is cultural and not psychological in the intra-personal sense. In survey terms, there may be a majority in England or in Ireland, who regard Hiberno-English or certain varieties of Hiberno-English, as substandard; this is of no relevance to the argument being made in this paper. It is the use of the term "nonstandard English" in the operational definition above which is being classified specifically as a transfer fallacy, and generically as a category mistake.

It is this same category mistake which underpins stage-Irishism, and its academic counterpart, the model of modal personality. The use of brogue-speak and brogue-write is the conversion of the concept of standard into a political instrument to define the Irish or particular groups of Irish as deviant. A language standard has little or no standing in specifically linguistic terms, except in reference to the context of spelling (but the concept of spelling standard based on linguistic and psycho-linguistic criteria would be radically different from the present standard of spelling and the contemporary social myths about spelling). The concept of language standard is primarily a concept which belongs to the category of political culture and which is used to assign status to different varieties of a language on a prestige, non-prestige spectrum. If linguists wish to posit standard as a linguistic concept, the obligation is on them to be explicit, and to avoid the transfer fallacy by distinguishing clearly between linguistic and political criteria.

There are two very obvious objections to the categorization in this paper of standard, one from a communicative point of view, and the other from the world of formal education: a clear and rigid standard is needed in language if we are to be able to communicate with each other, and if young people are to be taught their native language in the different levels of the educational system.

The argument that rigid standardization is necessary for educational purposes consistently avoids defining in explicitly linguistic terms what is meant by standard. There is also the failure or

inability to realise that the educational system is one of the most important structures of elite political culture (in itself, and in its role of political socialization). To write, and I am not including minimal literacy, is the prerogative of the elite. The educational system and this includes third-level education, is an important part of the system of using language as a political instrument of the elite in the determination of the status rites of passage. In the discussion of the necessity of standard language for communication, it might be pointed out that to demand a rigid standardization for psycho-communicative purposes, demands a concomitant care about the scientific research for such a claim, and the quality of such research: such research and a concern for the scientific quality of such research is notoriously lacking. Statements about the necessity of standardization based on the communicative argument frequently do not make the basic distinction between speech and writing, in any consistent way.

As was stated in the Introduction, academia, with some exceptions (Bederd & Maurais 1983), has been lacking in tackling the analysis of language as political culture, and the role of language in the generation of the different types of elite groupings. If sociolinguistics in going to mature as a social science, it cannot afford not to reconsider its theoretical assumptions vis-a-vis the political culture of language in micro and macro contexts. The reconsideration of the concept of standard belongs to the latter context. The present commonly accepted concepts of standard, and the related terms, nonstandard and sub-standard, can be analysed profitably in the diachronic and synchronic study of English in Ireland. The phenomena of brogue-write and brogue-speak are not unique to Ireland; what is important is the persistent and consistent use in Ireland of the language culture of the English language as an aggressive political instrument. Ireland is unusual in such colonial type situations; there is evidence on different sides. Because Ireland in the 12th century from a prestige point of view, had had developed a much more sophisticated language culture than the colonizer, there is plenty of documentation from the colonized point of view. The synchronic context in Ireland is also important; English in Ireland is still being defined as nonstandard.

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ENGLISH IN IRELAND: AN ATTITUDINAL STUDY

Rationale:

Well over eight hundred years ago, Ireland[1] became the first overseas English-speaking colony. And, although the existence of English there has been precarious for many of those eight hundred years, the language in one variety or another has been used continuously since England claimed Ireland. The acceptance of English as an Irish language (i.e. language spoken in Ireland) by the Irish people has had a turbulent history. English is both valued (for being a language that could provide economic freedom[2] and scorned (for being a colonial language), more frequently than not in the same breath. These conflicting attitudes toward English are tied up with conflicting attitudes toward Irish. Éamon de Valera stated that "Ireland with its language and without its freedom is preferable to Ireland with its freedom and without its language" (Atkenon, 1975: 36). On the other hand, Wagner (1958: 23) reports that Irish is "regarded by rural dwellers as belonging to a primitive, poverty-stricken way of life." It is with these aspects in mind-the long history of English in Ireland and the complicated and contradictory Irish attitudes toward English-that this study was undertaken.

1. For this study, Ireland refers to the Republic of Ireland.

2. From the mid to late 1800s, the number of Irish L1 (first language) speakers fell dramatically, due in part to Irish-speaking parents' desire to have their children learn, and more important, speak English. This was accomplished by the parents either speaking only English to their children or by not speaking to them at all. This often happened when parents did not know enough English to be able to communicate with their children. The school system, too, cooperated. Children were forced to wear tally sticks around their necks. Whenever the children spoke Irish, the sticks were notched. After so many notches, the children were punished.

Initial experiment—the Galway Gaeltacht:

In November 1983, a questionnaire and matched guise study was administered to one hundred and forty-nine students in the Galway Gaeltacht. Students, aged twelve to seventeen, were randomly selected from the six mainland secondary schools (see Chart 1 below). The subjects listened to five short recordings made by four male native speakers of Irish English, American English, Canadian English, and British English. Although previous matched guise studies have had each speaker record the same piece for evaluation by their subjects, keeping the attention of teenagers listening to five identical recordings and completing a twelve-page questionnaire suggested innovation. Therefore, five different topics were recorded, each speaker selecting his own. They are as follows: a 1985 quincentenial celebration (standard Irish English), autumn and falling leaves (non-standard Irish English), a practical joke played on a policeman (midwestern American English), narrow-gauge railroads (British English), and climbing a mountain (English spoken by a native Canadian who had lived in both England and Ireland for long periods of time). The following initials will represent the speakers in the order presented above: S, NS, A, E, and C. All speakers were between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five. The two varieties of Irish English were the subject of the matched guise study. The questionnaire required approximately fifty minutes to complete.

	12	13	14	15	16	17		
MALE	3	12	23	16	15	1	N: 70	46.98%
FEMALE	1	11	21	27	17	2	N: 79	53.02%

Chart 1: Sex/age breakdown of Galway Gaeltacht subjects

Second experiment—Dublin:

Because the results of the Galway study proved interesting, the study was repeated in Dublin in May 1984. The largest number of subjects in Galway were fifteen- and sixteen-year olds; thus fifty-six students from inner-city schools were chosen to complete the questionnaire. Inner-city students were chosen in order to match as closely as possible the economic status of the Galway subjects (see Chart 2).

	15	16		
MALE	28	3	N: 31	55.36%
FEMALE	7	18	N: 25	44.64%

Chart 2: Sex/age breakdown of Dublin subjects

Questionnaire :

The purpose of the questionnaire and matched guise study was to investigate the reactions of Irish secondary school students to five pieces of recorded dialogue. As previous studies have shown (Lambert, Shuy and Fasold, CLAR), many subjects, regardless of their own dialect, agree on the identity and ratings of standard/non-standard or high prestige/low prestige varieties of speech.

On the questionnaire, the subjects were asked to rate the five speakers on sixteen paired personality traits (see Chart 4 below). These questions were answered using a five-point Likert scale for each polar pair of characteristics. The spaces on the ends closest to the characteristic represent *very much*, the second and fourth spaces represent *somewhat*, and the middle space represents *undecided*. Eight additional questions were concerned with social distance-the degree of personal involvement people have with each other. Included in these questions were two which asked the subjects to guess the occupation and origin of the speaker.

Method of analysis :

The data collected were compiled on an IBM Cyber computer at the University of Texas at Austin. The SAS statistical package was used to analyze the data.

General hypotheses :

Two sets of hypotheses follow. The first set involves the subjects' identification of the speakers' dialects and their jobs and the actual ratings they gave to the five pieces of dialogue. The second set involves the relationships between the subjects' age, sex, and residence (country vs. city) and their responses to the speakers.

The subjects' ability to identify the dialects correctly will be related to the amount of exposure the subjects have to the various dialects (radio, TV, travel) and the purity of the dialect (C's varied linguistic background). It is hypothesized that:

(1) the subjects will be able to identify correctly the origin of S's

dialect as urban, educated Irish English (H-E);

(2) the subjects will be able to identify correctly the origin of NS's dialect as rural H-E; and

(3) the subjects will assign white collar jobs to S and blue collar jobs to NS.

It is further hypothesized that:

(1) the subjects will be able to identify E as coming from England and A as coming from the United States, but be confused as to a precise origin of their dialects (rural vs. city, north vs. south);

(2) the subjects will be confused as to the origin of C's dialect;

(3) the subjects will assign white collar jobs to E and A because of positive economic associations with England and the United States; and

(4) the subjects will assign white collar jobs to C if he is identified as coming from a non-economically depressed area.

Speakers' dialects and jobs:

Because of past and present English involvement in Irish political, social, and economic affairs, Irish attitudes toward the English are mixed. This fluctuation of attitudes will be reflected in the subjects' ratings of E. It is hypothesized that E will be rated (1) more negatively than S (standard H-E guise), but (2) more positively than NS on those characteristics related to class (education, wealth).

In general, Hiberno-American relations-politically, economically, and socially-have been good over the years. However, increased American presence in Latin America and in Europe has caused a strain on that relationship. Therefore, it is hypothesized that A will be rated more negatively than both H-E guises and will have ratings similar to E.

Like the United States, Canada has strong ties to Ireland. There are, however, no Canadian Cruise missles to strain the relationship, and although a part of the British Commonwealth, Canada is not seen in a colonial light. It is hypothesized that C will be rated more positively than either E or A if he is perceived as Canadian. But because Canadian English is sometimes difficult to distinguish from American English, it is felt that subjects will not be able to identify C as coming from Canada. In addition, C's dialect is hardly uniform. It is, therefore, hypothesized that C will be rated more positively than either A or E because of the three varieties of English evident in his speech (North American, English, and Irish).

The preponderance of data in other matched guise studies has shown that subjects rate a non-standard speaker differently from a standard speaker; for example, a non-standard speaker is often rated less intelligent, less hard-working, and less trustworthy than a standard speaker. On the other hand, some studies have shown that a solidarity exists between group members speaking a lower prestige dialect (covert prestige), and that this dialect consequently acquires greater prestige than would the standard dialect (Labov, Trudgill, Angogo).

It is hypothesized that Irish secondary school students will rate the two H-E guises differently, and these ratings will correlate with the events of Irish history (it is more prestigious to be from the east of Ireland, and thus more prestigious to speak a variety of H-E associated with the east). Despite this polar role that English has had in Ireland, subjects who speak a non-standard variety similar to the variety spoken by NS will show pride in it, and will identify it as the *real English in Ireland*. It is also hypothesized that NS will be rated more positively than S for informal relationships (friends, neighbors, in-laws).

Subjects and age, sex, and residence (country vs. city):

AGE: It is hypothesized that younger subjects will rate NS less negatively in regard to higher prestige characteristics than will older subjects, that the linguistic awareness of a twelve-year-old is less sophisticated than that of a seventeen-year-old.

SEX: When asked why Irish L1 girls were switching from Irish to English so rapidly, a mother responded that she thought it was due to the popularity of bubblegum romances in Ireland. Because they were written only in English, young girls were using more English ("The Last Days of the Gaeltacht"). Although this may not be a very scientific statement of the phenomenon, certain studies have shown that females use higher prestige forms than do males (Trudgill, Anshen, Labov). It is hypothesized that the female subjects will rate S more positively than NS on the characteristics linked to higher prestige.

RESIDENCE: The Galway Gaeltacht subjects speak a dialect of H-E that is (1) very similar to that spoken by NS, and (2) very different from that spoken by inner-city Dublin subjects. It is hypothesized that subjects will rate NS more positively on characteristics related to lower prestige (friendliness, humor, religiousness) than will Dublin subjects, and that both groups will rate NS more negatively overall than S on those characteristics related to prestige (education, wealth, intelligence).

Results:

For the following statistics, the first number will refer to answers given by the Galway Gaeltacht subjects (G) and the second number to those given by the Dublin subjects (D).

Origin of the speakers:

Responses to the question "Where do you think this speaker comes from?" strongly support the hypotheses above. See Chart 3 below.

Occupation of the speakers:

Responses to the question "What kind of job do you think this speaker has?" strongly support the hypotheses above. White collar jobs were assigned to every speaker but NS, the non-standard speaker. He was assigned blue collar jobs.

S: Although only 44% of all subjects said S came specifically from a city, 98.9% said he had white collar jobs. 79.6% gave S a job where standard, educated H-E would very likely be spoken (news reporter, teacher, politician).

NS: Though there is a difference between the Galway and Dublin subjects as to the occupation of NS, both groups felt that he had a blue collar job (81.1% vs. 96.3%). The jobs most frequently assigned to NS were farming and gardening (72.9%), two jobs closely associated with rural Ireland.

E: A large number of the Irish emigranting to England have come from the west, so England may be seen in a positive economic light even though the majority of those emigrating have done so to blue collar jobs. The Dublin economy has necessitated sending fewer people to England, thus causing England to be seen less in economic terms. E may be rated less positively as regard to economics. The subjects' responses confirm these differences. While 89.4% of the Galway subjects assigned white collar jobs to E, only 62.2% of the Dublin subjects did so. Blue collar figures were 10.6% and 37.8% respectively.

A: Galway and Dublin subjects rated A and E similarly, feeling that he had a white collar job (62.2%; 65.7%) more often than a blue collar one (37.8%; 34.3%).

C: Although subjects had trouble deciding where C came from, they were

uniform in their opinion of his economic status. 95% of the Galway subjects and 95.5% of the Dublin subjects assigned him white collar jobs.

		Galway	Dublin	Average
		%	%	%
S:	Ireland	38.3	41.1	39.1
	Urban Ireland	43.9	46.4	44.7
	England/US/Canada	17.7	12.5	16.2
NS:	Rural Ireland	67.3	92.6	74.6
	Urban Ireland	8.9	5.6	7.6
	England/US/Canada	23.8	1.8	17.7
E:	England	81.6	94.6	85.2
	Ireland	7.1	1.8	5.6
	US/Canada/Australia	11.3	3.6	9.6
A:	United States	63.3	71.7	65.5
	Canada	3.1	0	2.3
	Ireland	14.8	8.7	13.2
	England/Australia	18.8	19.6	19.0
C:	England	17.0	16.3	16.8
	Ireland	36.3	22.5	32.6
	US/Canada	29.6	40.8	32.6
	Other	17.0	20.4	17.9

Chart 3: Origin of the speakers

Ratings of the speakers' personalities :

S and NS:

It was hypothesized that subjects would rate the two H-E guises differently. S was rated more positively than NS all characteristics related to higher prestige. Twelve and thirteen of the differences were found to be significant ($p = .005$ or lower). See the chart below.

		S (G)	NS (G)	E (G)		S (D)	NS (D)	E (D)
confident	* #	1.86	2.29	3.00	#	1.63	1.17	3.95
intelligent	* #	1.59	2.70	2.50	* #	1.73	2.93	3.52
humorous	* #	3.12	2.31	2.93	* #	3.77	1.70	3.09
religious		2.63	2.64	2.82	#	2.96	2.68	3.34
responsible	* #	1.90	3.07	2.81	* #	1.85	3.09	3.13
good-looking	* #	2.64	2.96	3.00	* #	2.89	3.39	3.50
friendly		2.18	1.95	2.07	* #	2.52	1.52	2.28
hard-working	* #	1.99	2.76	2.65	* #	1.64	2.39	2.89
soc high class	* #	1.87	3.33	2.77	* #	1.88	3.33	3.89
leader	* #	2.36	3.36	3.30	* #	2.52	3.08	4.04
educated	* #	1.50	2.71	2.34	* #	1.21	3.32	3.38
ambitious	* #	1.99	2.68	2.69	* #	2.08	2.80	3.44
rich	* #	2.11	2.89	2.57	* #	2.29	3.38	3.48
honest		1.98	2.16	2.17		2.31	2.16	2.32
dependable	* #	2.11	2.82	2.70	* #	2.11	2.70	2.93
kind		2.15	2.18	2.17	* #	2.78	1.75	2.36

* = significant for S and NS # = significant for S, NS, and E

Chart 4: Personality of S, NS, and E (Galway and Dublin)

S, NS, and E:

It was hypothesized that E would be rated more negatively than S and more positively than NS on characteristics related to class. The data from both Galway and Dublin subjects strongly support the first half of the hypothesis. E was rated more negatively than S on all characteristics but *humor* and *friendliness* (G) and *humor, friendliness,* and *kindness* (D).

However, for Dublin subjects, E is rated more negatively than both S and NS on all personality characteristics but the three mentioned above. The differences are significant in every case but one -*honesty.*

The fact that E is rated more negatively than both H-E guises is thought to be due to Dublin subjects' ability to recognize the English origin of E's speech. As Dubliners have much greater contact with British English and can often breed contempt, E may have received this contempt in the form of more negative ratings and seems to have been rated largely on the basis of the Englishness of his voice.

While Galway subjects did not rate E as negatively with the consistency Dublin subjects did, they did seem to consider the individual characteristics being rated in addition to the origin of the speaker. Galway subjects rated NS more negatively than either S or E on

characteristics that have previously been associated with standard speakers- *intelligence, responsibility, hard work, social class, education, wealth,* and *dependability.* It appears that the two groups of subjects rated the three pieces of dialogue using different combinations of criteria (historical and economic).

A, C, and E:

The data strongly support the hypothesis that Galway and Dublin subjects would react more positively to C than they would to either A or E. For Galway subjects, C was rated more positively than E on every personality characteristic except *humor* and *wealth.* A was rated the most *humorous* and E the *richest.*

Galway subjects' reactions to A were also quite strong. A was rated the most negatively on every personality characteristic but *confidence, humor,* and *friendliness.* These last two findings are thought to be due to:

(1) strong economic opportunities associated with England, and
(2) the recent deterioration of Irish-American relations.

Dublin subjects' reactions to C closely parallel those made by Galway subjects. C was rated the most positively on every characteristic but *humor* and *good looks.* A was rated the most *humorous* and the *best-looking.* While Galway subjects were uniformly negative about A, Dublin subjects divided their negative attitudes between A and E on a basis that closely resembles the distribution of characteristics given to non-standard speakers, a basis of education and economics. See Chart 5 below.

Ratings - social distance:

S, NS, and E:

Results of the questions regarding social distance indicate that both Galway and Dublin subjects would prefer to have NS as a friend and neighbor (informal relationships). Both groups would least like to work with E or have him marry their sister. For both groups of subjects and both types of relationships rated by these questions (formal and informal), E is rated negatively more often than either S or NS and S is rated more negatively than NS on informal relationships. Several scores were found to be significant and are indicated in Chart 6 below.

		A (G)	C (G)	E (G)		A (D)	C (D)	E (D)
confident		2.70	2.20	3.00	*	2.86	2.20	3.95
intelligent	*	2.90	1.84	2.50	*	2.75	1.79	3.52
humorous		2.68	3.02	2.93		2.77	3.22	3.09
religious	*	3.03	1.99	2.82	*	3.36	1.70	3.34
responsible	*	3.10	1.99	2.81	*	3.06	1.82	3.13
good-looking		3.02	2.70	3.00		2.84	2.95	3.50
friendly		2.00	1.80	2.07		2.45	1.98	2.27
hard-working	*	3.45	1.86	2.65	*	3.18	1.75	2.89
soc high class		2.84	2.59	2.77	*	3.14	2.64	3.89
leader		3.32	2.49	3.30	*	3.38	1.98	4.04
educated		2.70	1.97	2.34	*	2.89	1.82	3.38
ambitious		2.97	2.13	2.69	*	3.23	2.36	3.44
rich		2.69	2.65	2.57		3.05	2.75	3.48
honest		2.41	1.82	2.17		2.84	1.96	2.32
dependable	*	3.09	2.00	2.70	*	3.95	2.14	2.93
kind		2.21	1.80	2.17		2.68	2.34	2.35

* = significant (p = .005 or lower)

Chart 5: Personality: A, C, and E (Galway and Dublin)

	S (G)	NS (G)	E (G)		S (D)	NS (D)	E (D)
friends	2.22	2.18	2.41	*	2.77	2.11	2.70
neighbors	2.46	2.43	2.59	*	2.89	2.21	2.86
tenants	2.84	3.07	3.05		3.07	2.98	3.07
work partner	2.67	2.78	2.84	*	2.61	2.64	3.30
marry sister	3.37	3.52	3.82		3.68	3.64	3.96
politician *	2.18	3.32	3.11	*	2.50	3.64	4.39

* = significant (p = .005 or lower)

Chart 6: Social distance: S, NS, and E (Galway and Dublin)

A, C, and E:

Results regarding social distance were similar to the results of questions regarding personality characteristics. Galway subjects rated C the most positively in every relationship- *friend, neighbor, tenant, work, in-laws,* and *politics.* A was rated the least positively. A positive economic association with England for Galway subjects may be the reason for the sharp alignment in ratings.

Dublin subjects also rated C more positively on every relationship tested. They would least prefer to have E marry their sister, work with

him, or have him represent them politically (two formal relationships). These findings relate well to those mentioned above-formal relationships can be associated with economic characteristics (education, ambition, responsibility). In other words, the person rated the least educated and least high class (E) is also the least desirable as a work partner and political candidate. Only two responses were found to be significant.

		A (G)	C (G)	E (G)		A (D)	C (D)	E (D)
friends		2.73	1.94	2.41		2.96	2.30	2.70
neighbors		3.20	2.28	2.59		3.04	2.89	2.86
tenants		3.48	2.78	3.04		3.30	2.45	3.07
work partner		3.33	2.41	2.84		3.01	3.30	3.30
marry sister		3.90	3.48	3.82		3.79	2.62	3.96
politician	*	3.59	2.45	3.11	*	3.71	1.77	4.39

* = significant (p = .005 or lower)

Chart 7: Social distance: A, C, and E (Galway and Dublin)

Voices and age, sex, and residence (country vs. city):

It was hypothesized that the age, sex, and residence of the subjects or combinations thereof would produce significant differences in the ratings of the five pieces of dialogue. But while significant differences were found for each possible combination (by age, by sex, by residence, by age and sex, by age and residence, by sex and residence, and by age, sex, and residence), none of the combinations produced consistent differences for any of the personality traits or relationship questions. Significance was tested using 2 x 2, 2 x 3, 2 x 4, 3 x 4, and 2 x 3 x 4 ANOVA's. Likewise, it was hoped that certain characteristics would cluster, uniting characteristics thought to be related. No clusters were found for both groups. Nevertheless, while neither age, nor sex, nor residence was significant in and of itself, the subjects as a group were uniform in their opinions of the speakers and their personalities.

Conclusions:

The results of the matched guise and questionnaire resemble the findings of other similar studies. All subjects said that S was better educated, higher class, and harder working than NS. S was also preferred in formal situations-as a work partner and political candidate.

When E was compared to S, he was rated more negatively on most personality characteristics (14 and 13 of 16). Galway subjects rated NS more negatively than E on characteristics related to class and economics.

Dublin subjects rated E uniformly lower than both S and NS. E was least preferred in informal relationships while S was preferred most in formal ones. NS was rated more positively in informal situations. When A, C, and E were compared, C was rated highest in most personality traits and social situations. A was rated the least positively by Galway subjects, but Dublin subjects divided their opinions of A and E on a basis of economics; they rated A more positively.

Although subjects were suggestible, they assigned occupations to the speakers that correlated with their opinions of their personalities. Those speakers who were perceived to be of a higher class were thought to have white collar jobs. NS, rated low in characteristics related to class and economics, was thought to be a farmer or gardener.

Both groups of subjects were very capable in guessing the origins of the speakers. The one exception to this was with C. However, they did discern the three elements of his speech and split their decision of where he came from among those three elements.

Lastly, the results showed that there were no consistent or significant differences for males or females, for younger or older subjects, or for those from the country or those from the inner-city.

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